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## The Schools and the Problems of Juvenile Delinquency Research Studies and Findings<sup>1</sup>

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*Author, Our Concern—Children and Youth (a study guide based on the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth), May, 1961*

**T**HE existence of juvenile delinquency, says Samuel Miller Brownell, former commissioner for

the United States Office of Education and now superintendent of schools in Detroit, proves, in a broad sense, that education has not been fully successful. He states that educational institutions for children—the home, school, and church, as well as other community groups—even in combination have not been able to prevent an increase in delinquency.<sup>2</sup>

Harrison E. Salisbury, New York *Times* journalist, wrote in his series

<sup>1</sup> Most of this article has been adapted from Chapter 5, *Juvenile Delinquency: Research, Theory and Comment*, published (1958) by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, and is here reprinted by the gracious permission of Robert E. Leeper, editor of publications.

For an excellent theoretical orientation to juvenile delinquency, see *New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency*, 1955, and *Juvenile Delinquency, Facts and Facets*, 1960, U.S. Children's Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Miller Brownell, "Delinquency—An Important Problem in Education," *School Life*, Jan., 1954, pp. 52-53.

of articles on "The Shook-Up Generation" that "Ever since the novel and film *Blackboard Jungle*, New Yorkers have been increasingly aware of the impact of teen-age violence on the educational system."<sup>3</sup>

From an educator of note comes this statement:

With the rise in juvenile delinquency, the medicine men are once again prescribing their favorite panacea. For prevention and cure of delinquency, we are advised to "get tough," "go back to the woodshed," "apply the nightstick. . . ." Naturally, the advocates of the return to the woodshed are among the severest critics of modern programs of education. Their editorial spokesmen satirically deride "the bleeding hearts who say education is the answer."<sup>4</sup>

Still another comment is worthy of attention since it comes from Jessie C. Binford, social worker at Hull House for more than thirty years:

The sad fact is that some of our juvenile court judges and many educators agree . . . that the only solution to juvenile delinquency is work for our children.

It does not seem to occur to these that we owe our children an education—which is all too little now—and that we must adapt our curriculum to the needs of children so that they will *want* to remain in school at least until they are 16 years of age.<sup>5</sup>

Available facts, however, have shown that between 95 and 98 per cent of school-age children are normal

personalities, reasonably healthy, and law-abiding. Of the less than 5 per cent who express their deviation in delinquency, 95 per cent of the seventeen-year-olds, 85 per cent of the sixteen-year-olds, and 50 per cent of the fifteen-year-olds are not in school. In fact, approximately 61 per cent of the delinquents between the ages of eight and seventeen are out of school.<sup>6</sup> This close relationship between teen-age youth who are out of school and juvenile delinquency was noted at the May, 1961, conference sponsored by the National Committee on Children and Youth, a follow-up committee established by the 1960 White House Conference. Under a special grant from the Ford Foundation, public school educators and other leaders from fifteen cities were called together to discuss public school dropouts as they affect rates of deviant behavior, unemployment, and other social problems for this age group.

Delinquency, then, according to Brownell, is related to public schools in three ways:

1. Schools may produce delinquency.
2. Schools may help prevent delinquency.
3. Schools may help deal with delinquency through curriculum and activities.<sup>7</sup>

### The Schools as Producers of Behavior Problems

The most startling of these three statements is that the school may contribute to the development of delinquency through offering frustrating experiences, by not maintaining interest, by not releasing tensions built up in other relationships, and by not

<sup>3</sup> Harrison E. Salisbury, reprint from the *New York Times*, March 23-30, 1958, p. 8; also, New York, Harper, 1958.

<sup>4</sup> William Van Til, "Combating Juvenile Delinquency Through Schools," *Educational Leadership*, March, 1956, pp. 362-363.

<sup>5</sup> Letter, May 3, 1956. (Letters quoted throughout this article were answers to a request addressed by the author to members of Discussion Group 57, Tenth Annual Conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1955).

<sup>6</sup> Brownell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

developing a feeling of satisfaction among youngsters that will keep them from, or move them out of, delinquent behavior.<sup>8</sup>

As factors creating this school failure, Brownell cites poor preparation of teachers for detecting the special needs of children, lack of time for teachers to really know the children they teach, and failure to provide teachers with special assistance in dealing with severe behavior problems.<sup>9</sup>

Howard W. Lane, in remarks made on a symposium of the American Orthopsychiatric Association in 1956, said he had "made a little survey out on Long Island to see what it means to a school child to live in the suburbs." He discovered "five important hazards to a child." The most serious, he indicated, is to be a slow reader. The second is to be a boy, to whom many more symptoms of poor mental health were attributed than to girls. Girls, he said, mature earlier and are easier to have around. The third hazard is to be left-handed, and Lane stated there is no doubt that "the attention and the little discriminations a 'lefty' experiences chip away at mental health." He admitted reluctance to list the two more "little hazards": a mother being *away from home* a good deal and a father being *at home* a good deal!<sup>10</sup> Lane made the plea that schools must be built and organized to accommodate child-like behavior, and that too few places, including homes, are now available for children to be and to act like children.

In his *Juvenile Delinquency and the School*,<sup>11</sup> William C. Kvaraceus described the Passaic, N. J., child welfare experiment of cooperative action among the school system, the police department, and other agencies dealing with children. He quoted Arthur C. Johnson as having remarked that the delinquent child may be an inescapable headache for the schools, but the schools may be an even greater headache for the deviant child!<sup>12</sup> Moreover, he added that "much of the school data points to a multiplicity of unwholesome, unsatisfactory, unhappy, and frustrating situations in which delinquents are enmeshed. Some schools appear to furnish experiences which are predisposing to aggressive behavior."<sup>13</sup>

Among these experiences is retardation. In reference to this, Kvaraceus stated that one great difference between the general youth population in school and the delinquent is the "rejection and condemnation" of the delinquent because he so often fails to be promoted.<sup>14</sup> Habits of failure and feelings of inferiority are characteristic of delinquency, Kvaraceus continues, and it is no wonder these youth resort to rebellion and flight from the classroom. Truancy and vandalism, too, are more than likely direct protests against defeating experiences in school.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, delinquents themselves gave these reasons for disliking school: clothes which were not as good as those of the other children; being

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Brownell, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Howard Lane, "Educational Aspects of Prevention," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, April, 1957, pp. 246-251.

<sup>11</sup> William C. Kvaraceus, *Juvenile Delinquency and the School*, New York, World Book Co., 1945.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135. See his positive appraisal of these same forces later in this article.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

made fun of by the teacher; inability to get along "with the crowd"; being in class with "a lot of dumb clucks"; and discipline for tardiness.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, in a discussion section on juvenile delinquency at the Tenth Annual Conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in 1955, a group of school administrators, teachers, social workers, and others added several items to this list of negative forces in the schools: textbooks often too difficult for use or understanding by children from underprivileged families and areas; the problem of keeping in school those children whose parents have no interest in school attendance; the stereotyped subject matter of many high schools; teachers excessively permissive or excessively rigid in control or inconsistent in discipline; and careless gossip among teachers about children who have been in trouble or whose families are in difficulty.<sup>17</sup>

Donald H. Goff, chief, Bureau of Classification and Education, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, added a different dimension to this discussion. Primarily concerned with "fundamental attitudes of youngsters toward behavior norms," he indicated that if there were one clearly defined set of such norms, the whole problem would be simplified. However, great heterogeneity of population and the impersonality and high mobility of urban living tend to bring about wide differences in what is considered acceptable behavior.

Schools, Goff believes, attempt to teach a single standard of normative values, which brings about a rigidity in what is accepted as normal be-

havior by children. This creates confusion, because many children or youth are confronted with unreal behavior standards as far as their own home and neighborhood experiences are concerned.<sup>18</sup>

Harry Estill Moore discussed this at some length when he wrote:

There is, it seems, a double code of morality—one for natives and one for the school people. Just here, it may be speculated, may be a fertile source of rejection of the teacher as "impractical" by youth and adults. Having imposed an abnormal behavior code on the teachers, the community then brands them as abnormal, and views them with suspicion, relegating them to the role of "stranger."<sup>19</sup>

Goff verified this point of view when he wrote that delinquents in training schools seem to tie in the stereotype of "schoolmarm" with the rigidity of middle-class mores as imposed in school. He concluded that the schools are confronted with the problem of consensus "in order to allow for group living," but that this consensus can best be reached through interpersonal relations which are grounded in the recognition of human worth and dignity and not through basing "wrong" or "right" behavior on one particular act. In fact, Goff would like to see how effective a rigidly subject-centered high school program can be in developing appreciation for human worth when compared with a similar attempt on the part of a school with a modified subject-centered program where interest in the human personality is the core of the whole curriculum.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Goff, letter, May 4, 1956.

<sup>17</sup> Harry Estill Moore, *Nine Help Themselves*, Austin, University of Texas, 1955, p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Goff, letter, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> Mimeographed notes, Discussion Group 57, *op. cit.*, p. 2.



### School and the Social Delinquent

Bertram M. Beck points out that the "social delinquent" will and can respond to a curriculum especially designed to enrich his experiences and serve as a supplement in cases where there is neighborhood and family deprivation.<sup>21</sup> A telling example of this approach was described by Salisbury in "Operation More."<sup>22</sup> Mrs. Cecile Sands, a member of the Board of Education, insisted that a school especially designed for difficult behavior problems would succeed if it had additional appropriations to get what it really needed in such areas as guidance, psychiatric aid, and after-school programs. At one such school—an "exceptional 600" school located in Brooklyn—youngsters who normally would be dismissed at 3 P.M. stay under supervision until five o'clock. Average afterschool attendance is about thirty-five—all of them gang members unacceptable to neighborhood community centers. Sidney I. Lipsyte, the principal, says of his school: "Too often it is pictured as a holding operation. We see it as a therapeutic operation." He believes about 90 per cent of his boys become useful citizens, and he refuses to judge their behavior by the standards of the middle-class world.<sup>23</sup>

All-day schools,<sup>24</sup> Beck indicates,

<sup>21</sup> Bertram M. Beck, "The School and Delinquency Control," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1955, pp. 60-61.

<sup>22</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> See "All-Day Neighborhood Schools," Interim Report No. 13, and "600 Day-Schools" (Proceedings), Interim Report No. 3, New York City Public Schools; Robert W. MacIver, "Juvenile Delinquency," *The Nation's Children* (Eli Ginzberg, ed.), Vol. 3, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, pp. 88-119.

are of tremendous importance to the social delinquent since the school furnishes him a "protected environment" for his own safety as well as for his development. Expert male supervision, he points out, is imperative, and the school board has to be ready to accept disruption, property damage, and "different" behavior—as Lipsyte does.

Furthermore, Beck continues, curriculum has to meet cultural differences and class differences, even while teaching values of a larger society. The best teachers of social delinquents, he believes, are men who have grown up in the neighborhood. Therefore, he advocates recruiting potential teachers from high schools located in gang areas and, with scholarships as incentives, training them to teach youth with the same background of social inequities that they themselves had experienced. In addition, teachers in these schools should be paid a premium since this type of teaching takes dedication to a cause as well as to a profession.<sup>25</sup>

Early detection of social delinquents, according to Beck, comes from among those who are truant and those who are retarded in reading. Schools in areas of high delinquency require an extra supply of remedial reading teachers as well as qualified social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists. When truancy occurs among too many too frequently, the curriculum should be changed forthwith. Schools can do little for the social delinquent without these resources and without

<sup>25</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 62; cf. article by McCandlish Phillips, *New York Times*, May 22, 1961, p. 33, on a "600" school for delinquent girls: "Its twelve teachers are paid \$600 a year above their regular salaries as a kind of academic hazard pay. But, as one of them said, . . . 'only a fool would do it for the money.'"

working with parents who have no concern about their children's dropping out of school.<sup>26</sup>

A number of years ago Detroit Public Schools tried an experiment which may prove of interest to schools located near colleges and universities. It was part of a larger attempt called "The Detroit School and Community Pilot Project for Reducing Delinquent Behavior," directed by Paul E. Johnson. Among other important phases of this program was the unique effort to bring remedial assistance to a larger number of children in a school where intensive help was already being given to problem youngsters. Nine student teachers from the College of Education of Wayne University served as special tutors for fifth- and sixth-grade children with academic difficulties. One of these teachers worked with children from the first through the fourth grades and gave tutorial aid in penmanship, vocabulary and reading, and arithmetic. Besides these benefits of this "100-hour program" of special help, there were others: the possibility for children with numerous absences to catch up with the class; the concrete aid and personal attention given to "problem children"; the discovery of weaknesses in children's problem-solving abilities; and the provision of remedial help to more children than would have been possible any other way.<sup>27</sup>

Harry Estill Moore has pointed out that delinquents are often exceedingly limited in total experiences available for children and youth in communities. This lack contributes not only to retardation in school but to inadequate socialization in culture as a

whole.<sup>28</sup> Schools, therefore, find themselves having to make up for inadequacies in social experience as well as in academic achievement. By this he means that very often, poverty of opportunity on one front or the other will preclude a child's accomplishment of developmental tasks (as Havighurst uses the term).<sup>29</sup>

Notable among the schools which offer special help is the M. Gertrude Godvin School, in Boston. This school proudly reported that, of the 6,000 unmanageable or chronically truant boys sent there over the past twenty years, 84 per cent are now living normal lives as responsible citizens.<sup>30</sup> These boys, under the intelligent principalship of Agnes Lavery, are in a "disciplinary school" where their treatment is not "soft" and where they, with their parents, are taken before the juvenile court judge for a hearing if the rules of the school are repeatedly broken.<sup>31</sup>

Curriculum runs the gamut of needs at Godvin School, from tailoring classes where boys learn to make their own clothes, to preparation of "the best school lunches in Boston" where they learn to cook, to academic subjects where they are brought up to age-grade levels by special assistance in classes with boys of their own age and development. Because the relationship between school truancy and adult crime is exceedingly high (one Massachusetts prison head estimated

<sup>26</sup> Harry Estill Moore, "Definition of Conditioned Participation" in *Dictionary of Sociology* (Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed.), New York, Philosophical Society Library, 1944, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1953.

<sup>28</sup> Mary Handy, "Willingly—to School," *NEA Journal*, Dec., 1955, pp. 544-545.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 545.

<sup>26</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> A progress report on "The Detroit School and Community Pilot Project for Reducing Juvenile Delinquency" (First Year, p. 16).

that 75 per cent of his inmates had been truants), every effort is made to hold the interest of Godvin boys through the curriculum and through a humane and warm approach to their problems.<sup>32</sup>

In 1958, a group of fifty California high-school principals were asked to describe programs in their schools which were related to meeting delinquency problems. As Robert D. Morgans reported, a wide variety of activities was described around the premises that delinquency and lack of success are correlates; that youth in trouble with no strong adult to whom they may turn are apt to become delinquent; and that lack of activities and standards of recognized worth to one's self and one's society may lead to antisocial and delinquent behavior.<sup>33</sup>

Schools reported they were attacking problems of failure by revising their curriculum, providing work experience programs and special classes for children of both low and high abilities, by developing faculty attitudes on the importance of success to these youngsters, by praising youth when they succeeded, and by letting the public know of their accomplishments. Effective youth counseling and work with parents were major approaches to meeting youngsters' needs for a strong adult figure. Special emphasis was placed upon attendance counseling and follow-up on absence, youth guidance clinics, youth problem councils of different agency personnel, more use of case conferences, and in-service education of teachers for their own counseling role. Work with par-

ents took the form of discussion groups with trained consultants, and conferences to help strengthen parental relationships with their children.

To combat the feeling of worthlessness, youngsters were offered opportunities to serve their schools and communities through projects of recognized value and dignity; and, through a shift from entertainment programs to those of community welfare, youth could give of their own talents to meet school and community needs. Strong school clubs were formed where everybody had an opportunity for membership. Student government, school committees on "problems" with "problem youth" as members, intramural athletic teams to include all interested boys, community recreation projects, and community-wide youth councils were also reported as school aids.

To develop acceptable standards, high school youth themselves were involved in establishing codes of conduct. Classroom discussions of values were followed up by "character propaganda" campaigns with youth using slogans they had developed. Similar suggestions were offered by Clare C. Walker in her article, "A Positive Approach to Delinquency."<sup>34</sup>

Needless to say, these are but a few examples of school programs effectively meeting problems of delinquents, but they indicate a variety of approaches that seem to have merit.

### The Asocial Delinquent and the School

Teachers, Beck says, must give up their sentimental notions concerning "keeping children out of court" when they come up against the asocial delinquent. Youngsters devoid of con-

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Robert D. Morgans, "What California High Schools Are Doing about Juvenile Delinquency," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, Dec., 1958, pp. 461-465.

<sup>34</sup> *NEA Journal*, Oct., 1958, pp. 466-468.

science are dangerous whether they are victims of *anomie* (normless behavior), are "psychopathic personalities," or have "character disorders." From these youth come criminals who murder wantonly, who, without reason or provocation, attack to maim and mutilate, who seem to be without feelings and conscience. Delay in dealing with them is a hazard, Beck reiterates, and "permissiveness only makes them worse." He feels these deviants should be brought to the attention of official agencies immediately before "tragic delinquency" occurs.

For them, the prognosis is not good. Beck makes it clear that these youth need a highly controlled environment or institutional care both for their own safety as well as for the protection of others. These delinquents, he believes, are in the main too damaged to be allowed to stay in school.<sup>35</sup>

Although criticism was leveled at William Jansen, the former superintendent of schools in New York City, for suspending more than 900 youths during February, 1958, many schoolteachers and administrators reported that it improved conditions in their schools "immeasurably." But others, like Joseph C. Noethen, a district superintendent, indicated that "society is only deferring the payment of its debt" and is "going to have to pay a high interest on it. Kicking the kids into the streets creates wolf packs. Suspension is supposed to have a therapeutic effect. Mass action destroys the therapeutic value."<sup>36</sup>

### Prevention of Delinquency

Robert M. MacIver, director of New York's Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, notes that schools are the most stable social institutions many

children ever encounter and the only one which can help them. "Bad as the adolescent may be in school," MacIver points out, "he is better behaved, a better member of society, in school than anywhere else."<sup>37</sup>

From this it would appear that the more children and youth who do stay in school for more years, the greater will be the opportunity to assist the delinquents toward responsible maturity and to contribute to the prevention of delinquent behavior. This, of course, must be within the limits of safety, as pointed out by Beck.

William C. Kvaraceus came up with an unusual approach in a recent article on "The School as a Catalyst in Precipitating Delinquency."<sup>38</sup> He contended that because schools have the longest and closest contact with children, they have an unusual and strategic opportunity to prevent and control delinquency. In contrast to some subcultural settings, schools are ordered, precise in their demands upon children, and regulated toward "the hard work of learning." They force postponement of goal satisfactions and demand frustration tolerance, self-control, and self-denial with long-run satisfactions in mind. But delinquents or predelinquents reach a "near-boiling point" in such an atmosphere, for such "good schools" tend to "bring out or precipitate" aggressive behavior in youngsters whose personal backgrounds in home, family, and community are "negatively charged." Because they do, schools are in the position of being able to locate those who need help, can set up programs of assistance through both their own and com-

<sup>35</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Elementary School Journal*, Jan., 1959, pp. 211-214.

munity resources, and thereby help prevent or control delinquent behavior. Here, Kvaraceus asserts, the schools, rather than cause delinquent behavior, function as catalysts which serve to locate children in trouble.

Brownell points out that schools also prevent delinquency when they teach each child according to his own abilities.<sup>39</sup> Schools with this approach can find out what sort of person each child is and handle him accordingly. Every child, he stresses, is an important human being and should be treated as such. Brownell believes that schools, because they compensate for home and neighborhood deficiencies, should *strive to keep their students in school*.

Detailing these two statements, Brownell offers four recommendations: 1. Each teacher must have a small enough group of children so he can know and teach them as individuals. 2. Teachers need adequate preparation and must be interested in working with children and youth. 3. Staffs of psychologists, school physicians, and social workers should be on hand in schools to work with special problems. 4. School programs and procedures must be supported by parents and other community leaders if they are to be effective. School programs, out of necessity, should adapt to the differences between fast and slow learners, between shy and aggressive children, and between groups vastly different in experiences, background, and culture. Delinquents are made, not born, Brownell adds. People have to understand the needs of children and spend money to meet them.<sup>40</sup>

Though he approaches his discussion from the opposite pole—the

problems of the gifted child—James B. Conant (former president of Harvard) arrives at almost the same conclusion as Brownell. After a study of about fifty high schools "East, West, North and South,"<sup>41</sup> Conant wrote:

I am convinced that a satisfactory course of study for the bright boy or girl (the academically talented) can be offered in the public high school which is of a general or comprehensive type. . . . I am further convinced that the students in the comprehensive school derive certain advantages from their school years which are denied to their contemporaries in special schools.<sup>42</sup>

A good guidance system is "the key-stone of the arch of public education," he points out, since it is here that aspirations, hopes, abilities, and capacities can be determined and channeled into flexible areas of study to meet the needs and vast differences of young persons. One of the beauties of the comprehensive school, Conant states, is that "late bloomers" may be shifted from one course of study to another. In these schools are opportunities for the intellectually gifted and for the average; for those who wish to pursue academic training to the peak of proficiency and for those who would complete their formal education at the end of high school; for those who will go into business and for those who will become skilled artisans in industry. In certain situations, all youth should share common experiences for the mutual benefit of each.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Quarterly*, April, 1959, pp. 1-4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. Dr. Conant was chosen to undertake the study of dropouts discussed at the May, 1961, conference of the National Committee on Children and Youth (see p. 202 above).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Brownell, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.



Public schools of the United States, Bertrand Russell once stated, are the single most powerful agent for "transforming a heterogeneous selection of mankind into a homogeneous nation." This belief that public schools can serve basic democratic principles without slighting individual goals should, Conant says, "hearten a people who care about both the minds and the hearts of their children."<sup>44</sup> And, it might well be added, a people who care even about their delinquents.

To achieve the aims of Brownell and Conant, schools do have special needs. Garry Cleveland Myers points up a human aspect of the problem when he writes that research is needed on "how to establish wholesome restraint or how to balance restraint and love effectively—both at home and at school. Practically all of us agree on the value of love. . . . But love without restraint seems to commit suicide while restraint without love also fails."<sup>45</sup>

Approaching this same problem of the schools and delinquency prevention from an entirely different point of view, F. V. Lehn, principal of the Waukegan Township Secondary Schools, asked his teachers to fill out a simple questionnaire concerning major problems of juvenile delinquency as they are directly related to the school's educational program. His teachers listed the following:<sup>46</sup>

1. Parental indifference and lack of discipline in the home.
2. Inadequate community recreational facilities and lack of motivation to participate in group activities.
3. Too few high school courses designed for those not academically in-

clined and in which slow learners may remain interested and succeed.

4. Lack of teachers who have special training and who have the personality to deal successfully with delinquent students.

5. Inadequate foster homes.

6. Lack of training for young people before and after marriage as to their responsibilities—all of which would lead to a better home environment.

7. The bad effect that behavior of delinquents and predelinquents has on other student associates.

8. The disrupting influence of the juvenile "sophisticate" who is allowed to remain in school because he is not a delinquent.

9. Indifference and neglect of spiritual obligations by parents, and the fact that delinquency flourishes even among church youth groups.

10. Violations of the law by adults, which lead to lawlessness among children.

11. Too free use of automobiles by students.

Teachers in secondary schools agree with the findings of researchers and school administrators in regard to delinquency and its related problems. In fact, Beck believes that the only hope of alleviating future social delinquency and neurosis is to educate young persons in high schools in child development, family living, and home-making, as the teachers of Waukegan have stressed in Point 6 above.<sup>47</sup>

These presentations by American educators state in slightly different terms what Kvaraceus has written of delinquency and the schools in his article, "Preventing and Treating Juvenile Delinquency—Some Basic

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Letter, March 15, 1956.

<sup>46</sup> Letter, April 23, 1956.

<sup>47</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 64.



Approaches,"<sup>48</sup> and in his book, *The Community and the Delinquent*.<sup>49</sup> It is becoming possible, he said, to spot delinquency earlier; referral to proper sources of treatment and help contributes greatly to prevention. He insists, as do Beck, Brownell, and Robert L. Sutherland,<sup>50</sup> that child study is an essential for teachers if they are to perform their diagnostic functions successfully and to assist with treatment of youngsters with special problems. He is convinced that no hope exists for the delinquent unless guidance personnel, psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychiatric social workers can be made easily accessible to the individual child through the school and the community. Treatment must be specifically designed to meet *personal, social, and environmental* needs of the deviant child—what Kvaraceus calls the community aspect of child study.

As corollaries to the above basic principles, Kvaraceus lists coordination of all community resources for children and money to develop intensive child study and diagnostic programs based on proven scientific knowledge.<sup>51</sup>

### Education in the Home

Salisbury, in his description of home and community situations out of which delinquency grows, discusses the inadequate preparation of parents for homemaking and child-rearing.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> William C. Kvaraceus, "Preventing and Treating Juvenile Delinquency—Some Basic Approaches," *The School Review*, Dec., 1955, pp. 477-479.

<sup>49</sup> William C. Kvaraceus, *The Community and the Delinquent*, New York, World Book Co., 1954.

<sup>50</sup> Robert L. Sutherland, *Delinquency and Mental Health*, Austin, Texas, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, 1959, pp. 1-7.

<sup>51</sup> Kvaraceus, *op. cit.* note 48, pp. 478-479.

<sup>52</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

He states that thousands of families were moved into housing projects in New York City without preparation for living in these new kinds of quarters. Moreover, the families who were in the neighborhood prior to the advent of the newcomers were ill-prepared to receive and live with them.

The Dallas Public Schools, in cooperation with the Dallas Housing Authority and the Home and Family Life Division, Texas State Department of Education, have met these two problems by an intensive homemaking education program for adults with many of the education centers located in the housing projects themselves. At these study centers, home economics teachers have developed everything from rudimentary instruction in housekeeping, child care, basic nutrition, sewing, and care of clothing to family and community interpersonal relations. Work has been done with family groups on their own problems as well as with groups of homemakers. This is one excellent example of the coordination of community resources through leadership of the school's home and family life education division.

Kvaraceus stresses that to bridge the gap between home and school, parent education is of paramount importance, not only in the study of children's behavior but also in the total processes of homemaking and family living. Moreover, parent education includes of necessity actual participation in the learning processes rather than simply listening to "guest speakers."<sup>53</sup>

Robert L. Sutherland, too, writes of the "parent education" teacher:

This teacher, employed by the public schools, devotes his full time to organizing

<sup>53</sup> Kvaraceus, *op. cit.* note 49, pp. 252-259.

discussion groups with parents and, through other educational methods, helping parents join with teachers in basing their work with children upon scientific knowledge of the processes of human growth and development.<sup>54</sup>

### Summary

Let us summarize by listing some important areas of school life in which schools play an important role in preventing and handling delinquency<sup>55</sup>:

1. School superintendents can stimulate an interrelationship between the school and the community and can improve the overall school setting and educational program for *all* children, deviant and normal alike.

2. Through teachers, special school services, and administrators, schools must develop competence in evaluating the effectiveness of their own programs by the control of undesirable behavior as well as by grades and promotions.

3. Schools must make every effort to select better-trained school personnel from the school custodian through teachers to the top administrator, persons who are interested in and know how to work with children and youth.

4. Child study by teachers should be a continuing part of their in-service education toward effectively diagnos-

ing behavior problems and making appropriate treatment referrals.

5. An effective guidance program is as necessary to preventing and controlling delinquency as it is to giving maximum opportunity for the "gifted" and average child.

6. The case conference should be more extensively used in the study and treatment of individual children with problems—as demonstrated by the Philadelphia Case Study Committee.

7. Flexible curriculum and teaching methods are especially necessary in order to maintain interest of and offer satisfaction to youth whose experiences and background are limited by deficiencies in the home and neighborhood.

8. Policies of promotion, grading, discipline, and handling truancy need to be improved to prevent youngsters from developing intense feelings of defeat and inferiority with consequent hostility toward the schools.

9. Cooperation with the home should be continued and expanded through the use of school social workers, through welcoming parents to school for conferences and participation, and through home and family life education programs for parents.

10. Finally, the school has the major responsibility of interpreting its role in delinquency prevention and control to both the board of education and the community, stressing its need of funds to enrich the total school program and to make possible special flexibility of curriculum and service.

<sup>54</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Based on and paraphrased from Kvaraceus, "The Central Role of the Schools," *The Community and the Delinquent*, Chapter 10, pp. 265-317. See also Kvaraceus et al., *Delinquent Behavior—Culture and the Individual and Delinquent Behavior—Principles and Practices*, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1959.

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# Discipline in the Schools\*

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EVERY society attempts to teach children to act in ways acceptable to it. In the primitive era and, indeed, until the beginnings of the industrial revolution—in short, in the thousands of generations when the economic and social system remained unchanged from one generation to the next or changed slowly or almost imperceptibly—children learned by imitation. They shared in the activity of their elders and accepted unquestioningly their way of life.

## Why Is "Discipline" a Basic Concern in Education?

Today, however, the process of growing up is not so easy for either children or adults. Industrialization has meant rapid, profound, and widespread change, particularly in the last sixty years, and the tempo of change has increased with every decade. Basic religious, economic, and political beliefs are in open public competition with each other. The complexity of the economic, social, and political structure demands a corresponding complexity in the training of youth. Automation and the use of atomic energy indicate that these changes and this complexity will increase still further.

\* Adapted from the author's pamphlet, *Discipline—What For and How?*, Chicago, American Federation of Teachers A.F.L.-C.I.O., 1957.

In this Age of Uncertainty, no country has a completely satisfactory plan for training its youth. Even in a totalitarian country like the Soviet Union, where individual independence in any phase of life is not wanted and where obedience and conformity without question are taken for granted in the schools, the discipline problem has not been solved.

In a democracy we want the individual to be free to make his own choices as long as, in doing so, he does not infringe upon the right of others to choose. We believe in "free enterprise" for everyone. In a free society children do not learn to accept responsibility if they do only as they are told. Moreover, a society that believes in freedom of expression and initiative must be willing and able not only to tolerate but to make use of the inevitable disagreements about goals and the various, sometimes conflicting, ways to reach them.

## Bases of Discipline

More than a million teachers face forty million children in classrooms every school day. Every hour each teacher deals with twenty-five to fifty children—differing in individual endowment, social background, and emotional security—who, obviously, cannot be allowed to race around without direction. It is equally obvious that schools cannot produce the kinds

of citizens we need if they teach children to be submissive and rule them by fear.

This, then, is the problem of "discipline" in a democracy: How can we help our children grow into useful citizens if there is no single way of dealing effectively with all of them? The following general principles are suggested as a basis of the relationship of teachers and children:

1. An orderly, friendly atmosphere is essential to learning.

2. As his circle of "others" enlarges, a child must learn to direct his own efforts to ends useful to himself and to others.

3. Repression and punishment alone cannot produce self-discipline; on the contrary, they are almost certain to produce undisciplined children in a schoolroom and ineffective or dangerous adults later in life.

These ideas sound simple. Their application is far from simple. No matter how skilled and understanding the teacher, no matter how thoroughly he agrees with the axioms stated above, it is generally not easy to obtain an "orderly, friendly atmosphere" and "increasing self-direction."

A recent study shows that one-eighth of all city teachers have had some kind of physical violence used against them by pupils or parents at some time.<sup>1</sup> A study of physical assaults on teachers by pupils or their families in Chicago public schools between April, 1955, and April, 1961, shows seventy-four serious cases in which the Chicago Teachers Union attorney appeared in court in behalf of the teacher; other cases (the number unavailable) were handled by attorneys of the Board of Education.

<sup>1</sup>"Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior," *N.E.A. Research Bulletin*, April, 1956, p. 58.

The importance of the subject of discipline in the schools need not be measured statistically. Totally aside from the actual volume of serious breaches of discipline, there is no question that schools have become more sensitive to the needs of children and to dissatisfaction with repressive measures, which may temporarily achieve a surface calm but do nothing to help the child who is at war with himself and his surroundings.

Teachers and administrators who deal with the discipline problem in the school must comprehend the facts of life in the United States today—particularly the recent changes—that have an impact on the life of children in our schools and that are in large part the cause of the present concern. Similarly, judges, probation officers, and social workers in private agencies to which our severe discipline cases may be referred must gain a better understanding of what the schools are up against.

### "Outside" Causes of School Disorder

*Postwar Population Increase.*—Elementary school enrollment alone jumped from twenty million in 1945 to thirty-one million in 1959 and is expected to reach thirty-six million in 1965. High school enrollment rose from six to more than nine million between 1945 and 1959 and will certainly increase to twelve million in 1965.<sup>2</sup> Some communities have made prodigious efforts to meet the demand for space, but by and large they have not been able to cope with the tremendous drain on their resources, and all the problems inherent in our complex educational system have been increased in magnitude and intensity.

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Department of Labor, *Our Manpower Future*, 1956.

*Urban Increase.*—The United States has now become an urban nation. Ninety-seven per cent of our population increase has been in urban areas.<sup>3</sup> More than three-fifths of us live in large cities or in the 168 metropolitan areas of which these cities are a part.

The sudden, huge migration largely from rural areas in the Southern states to urban areas in the North and West has also helped to overcrowd the city schools. Chicago has added more than 500,000 rural migrants since 1941. New York City has had an influx of 250,000 Puerto Ricans, and the number of Mexican migrants has increased in the South and West.

Rural children from short-term schools with inadequate equipment and poorly trained teachers often cannot keep up with their age groups in city schools. Overage children pose difficult problems in social control. Language differences create a barrier which most schools are not equipped to meet.

Urban renewal plans have not kept pace with the spread of slums and the exodus of a huge low-income population to the cities. Almost always, areas made up of these newcomers to city life have deteriorated housing, inadequate public and private community services, and an already high juvenile delinquency rate. Parents' organizations and other voluntary organizations are either nonexistent or receive little support from the newcomers, who do not know what such groups are for, are uncomfortable in contact with them, and are so harassed by the sheer effort to earn a living in the new surroundings, so overwhelmed by the difficulties of their housing, and frequently so dismayed by their lack of

control over children in the new situation that they have little energy for community effort. Many of them are functionally illiterate (fourth grade or below) and some are isolated because of language. The Adult Education Association of the United States said in 1957 that 10.8 per cent of parents are functionally illiterate and 46.9 per cent have had eight years or less of schooling.<sup>4</sup>

Adolescent gangs in such areas fill a need not met by more desirable agencies in the community. The standards of family life, cleanliness, language, and manners of many children are shocking to teachers from middle-class homes. Rejection by the teacher of what seems normal and acceptable to the children may alienate them from the whole school experience and result in their directing personal hostility toward him. A boy plays truant to escape from an unrewarding or humiliating situation, and feels no guilt at what is to him a normal impulse.

To make matters still worse, this new urban population is moving from place to place within cities at an increased rate. Many children do not remain with the same teacher or with the same groups of children long enough to make progress or to feel as if they belong somewhere. Then, too, it is difficult for a teacher to use group techniques with children who are not really a group in any sense of common experience. The close to a million children who come from families of migrant laborers<sup>5</sup> have no local residence rights and usually lack the health, education, recreation, and welfare services that other children have. In some cities

<sup>3</sup> Chicago *Sun-Times*, June 24, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> Midcentury White House Conference, *A Chart Book*, charts 4, 5; *Fact Finding Report*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Philip Hauser, Director of the 1950 Census, July 9, 1957.



these children remain in school for a few months in the winter and then disappear as the family moves on. They suffer from the disadvantage of having lived in both rural areas and transient city areas, low income, and, frequently, minority status. When they appear in city schools they are added to already full classrooms and can receive little help from the teacher in making up their already great deficiencies.<sup>6</sup>

*Substandard Income.*—One-third of the families in the United States have incomes less than the family budget set as a minimum by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. Half the children in large cities live in homes in this income bracket<sup>7</sup>—homes which find it difficult to counteract the pernicious influences in the community, especially when both parents are working.

*Discrimination.*—Group discrimination reduces not only the opportunities open to adults but also the motivation of children in the group to exert themselves to their full ability.<sup>8</sup> Acceptance by some school personnel of lower standards of personal achievement for minority groups retards learning and increases children's suppressed resentment, a direct cause of discipline problems. On the other hand, encouraging a child of normal intelligence, whatever his background, to reach the limits of his ability strengthens his self-confidence and his readiness to meet new opportunities;

thus, he is less likely to become a discipline problem.

Children who are markedly different from their peers in appearance, customs, income, or ability may be ill at ease in the schoolroom. If, for example, the tasks are below their ability, or if standards of success seem to them impossible to meet, they may show their resentment by disturbing the whole group. Children must find success and attention somehow—if not by pleasing people, then by annoying them.

*Health.*—Children with poor physical or mental health and children from homes where parents are physically or mentally ill usually find it difficult to become a part of a learning group.

The impact of emotional disturbances and uncertainty arising from the depression, the draft, World War II, the Korean War, and the cold war have increased the number of emotionally unstable children in this generation.

The discrepancy between the number of enrollments and the financial resources of public schools is particularly sharp in its effect on the disturbed child, for whom little provision is made in the way of special instruction. The emotionally disturbed child is entitled to the expensive care he needs for an equal opportunity for education just as is the physically handicapped child. The number of emotionally disturbed children is rising at least as fast as the total enrollment. Public and private institutions for seriously disturbed, mentally retarded, and physically handicapped children are overflowing and are unable to accept children in desperate need of their special care.<sup>9</sup> The number of

<sup>6</sup> In June, 1957, the U.S. Office of Education reported that one-fifth of all the children in the United States moved from one place to another in the previous year.

<sup>7</sup> Midcentury White House Conference, *A Chart Book*, charts 21, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Midcentury White House Conference, *A Healthy Personality for Every Child*, pp. 48-51.

<sup>9</sup> *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1956.



these special institutions has not increased in proportion to the increase in the population, and the treatment given in many of them has always been inadequate.

*Disorderly Homes.*—Some children come to school from homes which are not orderly or friendly. (By no means are all these homes in the lower income brackets.) No one has been around to set and justify goals for them to reach, or to indicate to them that other people have rights. Whenever parents have failed to do this, the school's role is more difficult.

*Broken Families.*—Many children feel insecure because they are not a part of complete families. The 1950 White House Conference reported that one-twentieth of all our children are not living with either parent, one-seventh do not have "normal" homes, the proportion of one-parent homes has increased to 9 per cent of the total, and 2 per cent of white children and 20 per cent of Negro children are illegitimate. Children who live in homes broken by death and divorce (found at all economic levels) are more apt to be insecure and sometimes resentful of authority than those from complete homes.

*Adolescent Striving for Independence.*—As they grow up, children must keep trying to increase their independence from adult control. Particularly in adolescence they do many unreasonable things to prove to themselves that they are growing up. Such actions require patience even in a good home with two understanding parents; how much greater, obviously, are the problems they create among large groups of adolescents guided in increasingly complicated activities by one adult.

### "Inside" Causes of Disorder

*Inexperienced Teachers.*—An inexperienced or unqualified teacher, particularly if not given special help, is almost certain to have "discipline" problems in his classroom. For some years the number of qualified teachers coming out of teacher-training colleges has been about half the number required. In Chicago, as recently as last January, almost one-third of all classroom teachers were not fully qualified, had not yet passed the licensing examinations, or were emeritus.

*Poor Curriculum.*—The curriculum may not make sense to the children, who consequently become irritable, restless, and troublesome. Conscientious and able teachers are often frustrated by the obvious discrepancy between what the children under their care need and what is possible for them to accomplish with the materials, equipment, and class size given them. Such prolonged frustration makes their work—and, it follows, their control of the class—less effective.

Teachers unfamiliar with the home background, vocational aspirations, and social customs of the children with whom they work are hampered in making the learning process interesting and real. When communication is difficult because the pupils' experiences vary widely from the teacher's childhood experiences, the teacher is tempted to use rote instruction in order to show the results demanded by superiors. Pressures which lack meaning to children inevitably result in resentment and conflict.

Failure to provide for the slow or retarded learner heightens the need to supply special opportunities for those gifted children who may become seriously disturbing out of sheer boredom.

*Poor Buildings.*—The school building and its surroundings may be noisy and disturbing and unattractive to children.

*Insufficient Play Space.*—Playground space, where physical energy can be safely released, may be lacking.

*Overcrowding.*—Overcrowded buildings create confusion and disorder. Large classes prevent even highly skilled teachers from giving each child the guidance he needs. They reduce the time the teacher can devote to each child and increase the opportunity for a poorly adjusted child to call attention to himself and disturb the progress of the group.

The double-shift system creates new problems in attempting to solve old ones: it increases physical tension, shortens the child's contact with the school, and magnifies the frequently undesirable neighborhood influences.

New classrooms have not kept pace with the number of new children. The U.S. Office of Education stated in January, 1956, that 159,000 more classrooms were needed.<sup>10</sup> This figure fluctuates, but for some years it has not fallen below 130,000.

As class size increases, the need for special aids for retarded children increases in greater proportion, since less help is available for them in classrooms and they cannot advance far without special help.

*The Disturbing and the Emotionally Disturbed.*—One recent study indicated that less than one-third of the teachers in urban communities feel that there are no children in their care who consistently and intentionally disturb the progress of the whole group. Approximately three-fifths said there are some such children in their

classrooms. One of every 500 teachers stated that more than half the children under their care show disruptive attitudes.<sup>11</sup>

Teachers may be required to keep in a classroom children whose emotional disturbances are so deep or whose mental retardation is so great that no method of teaching the group can prevent them from disturbing the work of other children. The teacher's skill lies in establishing general order and interest and constructive activity, not in attempting to guide children who are mentally ill or mentally deficient. He has neither the time nor the specialized training required for dealing with such children.

*Administrative Defects.*—Some administrators refuse to take any responsibility in these matters and may blame as inefficient those teachers who were unlucky enough to draw such disturbed children in their class. They expect the classroom teacher to accept increased responsibility for discipline in crowded classes and in difficult communities, with no increase in administrative aid. Sometimes they may penalize those teachers who seek advice about children unable to fit into any ordinary classroom experience.

This kind of attitude not only creates resentment against administrators but is in itself responsible for any disorder caused by disturbed children. In turn, such disorder injures the whole school program and prevents any improvement in the child who needs help.

The principal who *does* accept this responsibility may not always have sufficient resources to meet the problem. He is faced with the obstacle of

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Office of Education, Circular 490, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> New York City Board of Education, *Bulletin on Curriculum and Materials*, Nov.-Dec., 1956.

the law, which requires school attendance up to a given age, and with overcrowding in institutions for children who need special care. Local pressure, particularly in smaller communities, makes it difficult for an administrator to deal firmly with children whose parents have influence.

### **Teacher's Responsibility for Classroom Discipline**

*Careful Planning.*—The teacher should set minimum work requirements which follow a general routine and which can be accepted and understood by the children.

*Interest.*—The teacher tries to find ways of making learning interesting to children by using their background and interests and by judging what their future needs may be.

*Success.*—The teacher makes possible some kind of success for every child and recognizes that success when it is attained.

*Expression.*—The teacher helps children learn to discuss ideas and to be articulate in a group according to their age and ability.

*Grading.*—The teacher is expected to be consistently fair in grading and in all other overt actions; the basis of her decisions should be clear to the group.

*Handling Disturbances.*—The teacher should meet minor unintentional disturbances with patience, and the major, persistent, intentional interruptions with firmness, in proportion to the damage done to the class, not his own annoyance. Whatever the type of punishment selected by the teacher, for major or minor infractions of the peace of the classroom, its purpose should be to change the child's attitude, not merely to protect the teacher from personal annoyance, and it

should be so administered that it will be accepted as fair by the other children in the group.

A whole group should not be blamed for the mistakes or malice of a few.

The teacher should use physical force only as an emergency measure, not as a routine solution of behavior difficulties. The children for whom corporal punishment seems to be the only practical discipline are often the very ones for whom it is least effective—they have been beaten before "by experts."

However, a teacher should have the right to separate children who are fighting or to eject a child from a classroom when it is necessary to do so for the safety and welfare of other children. The legal limitations imposed on teachers in some states encourage disturbed children to defy the teacher's authority, which is needed for classroom progress and the group's physical safety.<sup>12</sup>

*Observation.*—The teacher should be concerned with the quiet, withdrawn child as well as with the annoying, aggressive one. The degree of mental illness and danger to himself and to society is apt to be greater in the passive, defeated child than in the one who fights back.

*Assistance.*—The teacher should use whatever school agencies are available to help solve the personality difficulties of disruptive children. In a small school system, there may be only an administrator to help; in most urban systems some special aids are available. Guidance counselors, nurses, psychologists, and visiting teachers can help find out why the child acts as he does. The classroom teacher

<sup>12</sup> *Bulletin of National Association of Secondary School Principals*, Jan., 1956, p. 82.

should be willing to try the remedial measures recommended by these special services. However, if such measures fail to obtain reasonable cooperation, she can refer the child to the principal.<sup>13</sup>

### Administrator's Responsibility for Discipline

*The administrator sets the climate for the school.* Personally and through activities planned with teachers, he creates an atmosphere of friendliness, not one of fear or vindictive repression. He plans legitimate outlets for excess physical energy. He encourages children to cooperate by allowing them to participate in some decisions through student councils or the like, rather than merely permitting them to rubber stamp decisions he has already obviously made. He arranges the school program so that there is as little confusion and annoyance as possible.

He tries to keep the school grounds attractive by using all available facilities and by enlisting the children's cooperation. He creates as many situations as possible for children to take pride in belonging to the school.

The administrator helps the teachers understand the community in which they work—specifically, any community situations which have a bearing on their teaching—and he

helps them to keep in touch with community forces. He finds as many channels as possible for winning the cooperation of parents.

He works with teachers to adapt the curriculum and teaching methods to the children's interests and he helps them set and meet positive standards of achievement for children. To help new teachers gain practice and confidence in the use of the skills they have been taught, he should be receptive to questions, make suggestions in a friendly manner, and arrange for help from more experienced teachers.

Final responsibility for discipline belongs to the administrator. If he does not support teachers in their actions to protect the order of the school, he reduces to nothing their power to get that order. When he feels that a teacher has not acted wisely, he does not humiliate him before pupils, parents, or other teachers, but explains to the teacher privately his reasons for preferring other methods.

Finally, he accepts without question his responsibility for deciding what to do about the child who cannot learn in a classroom situation. Perhaps there is little he can do to protect society as a whole against the future actions of the school misfit. In every serious discipline problem that faces him, he must try to find a solution that will help the child without hurting the school. One thing is clear; he must protect the right of the vast majority of children to learn.

<sup>13</sup> George V. Sheviakov and Fritz Redl, *Discipline—For Today's Children and Youth*, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, Supervision and Curriculum Development Department, 1956, p. 61.

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# A Socio-Psychological Study of School Vandalism<sup>1</sup>

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**E**ACH year, the wanton and willful destruction of public property costs the public millions of dollars—a major portion of which goes toward paying for damages inflicted on schools. Evidence of this can be found in the following list of cities showing the cost of window breakage alone in schools in 1949.

Philadelphia, Pa.	\$82,569
Pittsburgh, Pa.	27,333
Flint, Mich.	8,861
Omaha, Neb.	3,759
Somerville, Mass.	2,956

Chicago, whose school window breakage cost rose to \$250,000 in 1951, merits separate recognition.<sup>2</sup>

The cost of school vandalism—especially window breakage—was brought up in testimony a few years ago before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. It was learned, for example, that the District of Columbia was spending more than \$50,000 a year to replace broken windows and that in 1953, after a campaign to re-

duce vandalism, Boston spent \$35,752—about half its 1952 amount. The figure for Philadelphia cited above was surpassed four years later, when the city ran up a bill of \$100,000 for school window breakage.

In Syracuse, N.Y., where we conducted our own study, the cost of replacing broken school windows rose from \$7,886 in 1948 to \$13,814 in 1959; window breakage constituted the major portion of school vandalism.

The destruction of school property is of interest and concern to the educator for a number of reasons other than cost. It can interfere with the educational program; it is dangerous to the pupils. Moreover, the all too visible depredations committed by classmates may have a harmful psychological effect on students.

Then, too, acts of vandalism in a school may be an indication that the school is somehow not fulfilling its role of transmitting conventional societal values to the young or is operating in such a manner as to produce anxiety in the students. The occurrence of vandalism might be an indirect but potent hint that the curriculum, school morale, or the relations between school and community need to be examined. Above all, it might be an indication to the educator that the

<sup>1</sup>Adapted from a longer report, with the same title, submitted to the U.S. Office of Education pursuant to contract No. SAE 181 (6453), 1959, mimeo., Syracuse University Research Institute.

<sup>2</sup>Figures taken from John F. Delaney, "Hidden Treasure," *American School Board Journal*, 1951, 122, pp. 25-27.



school is not adequately preparing the student for responsible citizenship.

From the point of view of the community, school vandalism threatens two important institutions of our society—education and property. A child who exhibits behavior hostile to our accepted way of life may be exercising the potential to make more serious attacks on society when he reaches adulthood.

To the student of juvenile delinquency, school vandalism represents a special and interesting form of deviant conduct, for the vandal usually acquires little or no profit from his act. He may achieve some prestige by his daring and defiance of school authorities; but in earning the plaudits of his peers, he exposes himself to identification and punishment by the authorities. What is more likely is that the vandal experiences some sort of release of tension through destruction of property, by which he overtly expresses his attitudes toward school, school personnel, the community, or the home.

Investigators have posited a variety of causes for vandalism. Educators, psychologists, sociologists, and public administrators have found the causes of vandalism in inadequate custodial services, parental irresponsibility, and personality aberrations in the child. Prescriptions for "curing" vandalism include such diverse techniques as putting screens on vulnerable windows, frequent police patrol of school building areas, making parents pay for damages, and improving the school's morale. In actuality, though, no *systematic* study has been made of the factors associated with damage to public school property.

During preliminary discussions with school personnel, it was found that the everyday damage to school prop-

erty—breaking windows, cutting desk tops, gouging walls, damaging wash-room equipment, etc.—was more costly in the long run than the occasional, more spectacular acts of vandalism in which one or two rooms may be extensively damaged. Moreover, in most instances of property damage, the perpetrators are not apprehended and thus are not available for study. Therefore, for our study, we decided to focus on the socio-psychological differences between schools exhibiting different degrees of damage; the school, rather than the individual, was to be our unit of analysis.

### The Research Plan

Although a specific instance of property damage might result from the activity of a given disturbed child, the presence of a high damage rate in a school cannot be attributed to the chance or designed concentration of a number of disturbed individuals in a single school. This study, then, was made with the basic assumption that schools with high damage rates may be distinguished from low-damage schools on the basis of the prevailing kinds of interpersonal relations between students, faculty members, administrators, and parents—or what might be broadly termed the "morale" of the school. To a considerable extent, the alienation of one of these groups from the rest might be considered a serious breach in morale. Such a situation might be termed *anomie*, where rules of conduct binding on the whole have lost their hold on some of the members of the group, so that behavior of these individuals may be contrary to the best interests of the group. Hence, the history of the school, the relations between school and community, the population from which the student body is drawn, the degree of student participation in school administration,

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etc.—all were considered fruitful areas for study.

The research plan was designed to discover common elements in school situations that might be associated with vandalism. We obtained descriptions of school situations where property damage was prevalent and situations where it was minimal. We examined schools rated high in damage and those rated low for variables which might account for these differences. We recognized that a school situation might be considered either a cause or an effect of vandalism; for it is not impossible that the attitudes found in a school are a function of the high-damage situation in which the student body finds itself, rather than a cause of vandalism. In any event, however, the nature of the relation cannot be more than implied from the statistical correlations.

The school sample consisted of sixteen junior, junior-senior, and senior high schools located in various sections of Syracuse. At one extreme, two schools were situated in what was generally considered a slum area; at the other extreme was a school in an upper middle-class residential area. Two schools in the downtown sector served students from various parts of the city; one of these was an academic high school, the other a technical and industrial high school. Students in each of the remaining schools were largely drawn from a given district in the city, the limits of which were set by the Board of Education.

A schedule for assessing damage in the school was prepared after consultation with school administrators, teachers, students, and custodians. All areas of probable damage were included, and items within these areas were separately listed. Each school's damage rating was the sum of ratings

of thirteen areas in the building. There were three sets of ratings altogether: Two investigators made independent ratings of each school at the beginning of the study, while a pair of raters, working together, made a rating at the end of the study. Fourteen of the schools were examined twice, eight three times, and two were surveyed only once. The scores of the examinations for each school were averaged, and all the schools ranked according to the average ratings. A high degree of concordance in rankings made by the three raters was indicated by statistical test.

The average of the differences between school damage ratings was 1.5 points. At three points in the rank order of damage ratings, the difference between two schools was 2.7 points or more, and 1.8 at another point. We used these four points to establish five classes of damage—high, moderately high, moderate, moderately low, and low. The sixteen schools then were distributed as follows: high—two; moderately high—five; moderate—four; moderately low—three; low—two.

Two or more schools having the same damage rating became our unit of study, rather than the individual vandal. Schools were compared in terms of the frequency rates of a given item. Hence, our data or conclusions do not necessarily represent the majority opinion in a school, or of even a significant portion of the faculty or students. We can say, however, that with respect to a specific response category or item in the interviews, a relatively higher frequency of such responses was obtained in a given school or class of school than in the others. The correlation between rank on the damage scale and rank on a particular response item was our basic unit of evaluation.

In this paper we shall present only summaries of our findings. More detailed information may be obtained in the final report submitted to the U.S. Office of Education.

### School Characteristics

Fourteen characteristics of the school or school population were correlated with its damage rank: size of population, age of building, median socioeconomic rank of the census tracts (geographic area) served by the school, pupil-teacher ratio, median class size, pupil-janitor ratio, window breakage (outside, largely summer), attendance rate, tardiness rate, drop-out rate, arrest rate, fathers in blue-collar occupations, home ownership, socio-economic rank of the census tract in which the school is located. Of these, only four—age of the building, window breakage, dropouts (from senior or junior-senior high schools), and socio-economic level of the census tract in which the school is located—seemed to be associated with damage rank. However, most of the other correlations, although not statistically significant, were in the expected direction. A high ratio of pupils per teacher, high median class size, and high rates of tardiness, arrest, and fathers in blue-collar occupations were related to a high rank on damage. High rates of attendance and home ownership by parents were negatively correlated with damage rank.

The relation between school damage and juvenile arrest is of special interest. Previously, a high level of school damage was thought to be strongly related to delinquent conduct in the community, especially to arrests for mischief or truancy. However, in our study, a rank order correlation of  $-.05$  was obtained between damage rank and arrests for mischief. The correlations obtained between damage

rank and total arrests and arrests for truancy,  $.27$  and  $.29$  respectively, suggest only a *slight* degree of relation between the two. In fact, two schools with the highest arrest rates in the city are in our moderate and moderately low damage categories.

### Teacher Interviews

The second phase of the study involved interviewing 367 teachers, using an interview schedule designed to assess the teacher's attitudes toward school vandalism, his knowledge of the location and amount of damage in the school, his conception of the relations between teachers and principal, students and principal, and his interpretation of student and parental attitudes toward the school. All questions were of the open-ended type with no time limit placed on any of the replies. All interviewers had professional experience in interviewing.

The teacher sample comprised 63.5 per cent of full-time and part-time teachers of the junior and senior high school grades in Syracuse. Teacher participation in the study ranged from 32.6 per cent to 96.5 per cent of the teachers in each school. Their age range was from twenty to over sixty, with a somewhat low representation in the 20-to-29 group. About half the teachers had taught sixteen years or more, while 21 per cent had taught less than six years. Half the teachers interviewed had spent five years or less in the present school assignment; about a fourth had been in the school between six and fifteen years.

This sample constitutes neither a random nor a representative teacher sample, since we had to rely on volunteers for participation in the study. In our recruitment, we focused mainly on teachers of the generally required subjects—English, science, and citizenship education—who would have had

experience with the bulk of the student population.

Each teacher's detailed interview report was analyzed independently by two raters in accordance with a coding scheme devised by the staff on the basis of a preliminary reading of a number of sample interviews. Any disagreements in ratings were resolved by a joint re-examination of the interview. Each interview was punched on an I.B.M. card.

Although almost all the teachers were concerned about school property damage by children, most of them expressed only mild or limited concern. Over two-thirds were aware of the extent and location of the problem in their own schools. They presented a variety of reasons for school damage, about one-third of their responses referring to inadequate home training. They seemed to agree on the methods of handling vandalism cases: 70 per cent recommended that the offending child should either repair the damage or pay for it out of his own earnings, rather than be reported to the police.

#### HIGH-DAMAGE SCHOOLS

Teachers in the high-damage schools seemed relatively more concerned about vandalism, but somewhat less aware of the extent and nature of the problem than teachers in low-damage schools. In high-damage schools, they tended to emphasize classroom damage and to refer to the physical aspects and administration of the school as factors in its high-damage rate. Boredom, disinterest in school, and peer group pressure were the motivations attributed to children who damage school property. In high-damage schools, teachers were concerned with home training, sex, age, and grade of the child as significant factors in vandalism, although they seemed to have little contact with their pupils' parents

and interpreted parental attitude toward the school as one of indifference.

Amount of damage in schools was related to the age and location of the building, while differences in the amount of classroom damage were related to the kind of discipline exercised by the teacher. In cases of property damage, there was a slight tendency for action to be delegated to the principal rather than to the teacher. Principal-teacher contacts tended to be formal and were usually initiated by the principal. Contacts between teachers themselves were more limited in these schools than in those with low damage and tended to be more formal and professional in nature. Teachers interpreted school administration as weak and casual, and student attitude toward the school as casual or indifferent. The attitude of teachers in the high-damage school, as evaluated from the total interview, was either one of casualness or of constructive criticism. Their conceptions of role were varied and showed no pattern differences in either the high- or low-damage schools.

#### LOW-DAMAGE SCHOOLS

Although teachers in low-damage schools showed less concern about vandalism, they had, as we have said before, a greater awareness of the extent and nature of the problem in their own schools. They more frequently emphasized damage *outside* classroom areas and tended to blame the school staff for a high rate of damage. They reported that children committed acts of damage for "fun" or for revenge and that those children could be distinguished from others in terms of race, socio-economic class, and ability. Teachers tended, in low-damage schools, to be more familiar with the parents than those in high-damage schools and felt that parental interest in the school was strong. They at-

tributed differences in damage rates between schools to the characteristics of the students and differences in damage to classrooms to the age and experience of the teacher. Teacher contacts here seemed less formal and frequent references were made to unplanned, informal social gatherings in the school and in the teachers' homes. Contacts with the principal were also less formal and could be initiated by either the principal or the teacher because of the "open door" policy of the former. The administration was characterized as strong and democratic, although sometimes rigid, while teachers and students were described as being enthusiastic over or proud of the school, with the students holding it in respect.

Although a high proportion of teachers in all schools were concerned about property damage, there appears to be a negative relation between high damage and high teacher awareness of the *extent* of the problem in the school. Moreover, teachers in high-damage schools defined their roles with respect to school damage in more limited terms than others.

Teachers in high- rather than in low-damage schools also had a lower degree of identification with the school. Analysis of their interview responses indicated a positive correlation between high damage rank and the proportion of teachers who seemed to take a casual or mildly critical attitude toward the school; they reported enthusiasm for the school much less frequently than teachers in low-damage schools. In addition, teachers in high-damage schools reported much more often that parents were uninterested in or unfavorably disposed toward the school.

In the reasons given by the teachers for differential damage in classrooms

and other schools, we can see differences in their *own* degree of personal identification with the school. Those in high-damage schools focused on the school administration, on the age and location of the building, and on poor teacher control in the classroom. On the other hand, teachers in low-damage schools emphasized the role of the entire school staff, the age and grade of the students, student interest in school, and the experience of the teacher as important factors in determining the amount and nature of damage. Hence, it appears that "high-damage" teachers were more concerned with relatively impersonal factors in the school, while "low-damage" teachers were more preoccupied with personal relations and effectiveness in their role.

### The Student Questionnaire

A questionnaire was administered to 1,170 students in the sixteen schools in order to obtain, as in the case of teachers, information on their attitudes toward school vandalism; their relations with teachers, principal, counselor, custodian, and students; and some evaluation of parental attitudes. Thus, the student point of view would provide another perspective on the problem. As in the analysis of the teacher interviews, the school or schools grouped in the damage category constituted the unit of study or comparison.

The questionnaire was based on preliminary discussions with school teachers and administrators, a pilot study in another community, and the suggestions of an advisory committee of principals who had been working with us. The student was given a choice of five responses ranging from "high" to "low." This five-point ranking automatically became the coding scheme for use on I.B.M. cards.

The student sample consisted of 1,170 students or about 11 per cent of the total population of our sixteen schools. In order to avoid obtaining a biased sample, we requested that students be drawn from courses such as English, citizenship, and general science to obtain as random a sample as possible. Some students were taken from study halls, which presumably contained a cross section of the student population.

The students ranged in age from twelve to eighteen, with only about 25 per cent over fifteen. Boys and girls were about evenly represented in the sample.

Since, in the opinion of many of the educators we interviewed, the eighth and tenth years were the most crucial in school adjustment, we decided to use, insofar as possible, students in these years. A few ninth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-grade students were included, usually because of scheduling problems in the school. About half of the 1,170 students were in the eighth grade, and about 35 per cent were in the tenth grade. We attempted to obtain for our sample about 15 per cent of the junior and senior high-school students in each school. The questionnaires were administered by project personnel in the school cafeteria, auditorium, or study hall following a brief explanation of the purposes of the study. Participation was entirely voluntary, and students were told not to put their names on the paper.

#### HIGH-DAMAGE SCHOOLS

On the basis of the rank-order correlations between school damage rating and student responses on the questionnaire, the following student characteristics were found related to a high rate of damage in the school:

These students were attending school primarily to prepare for a job rather

than for college. They considered their school the poorest in the city or poorer than most. Loyalty to the school meant, for them, attending or participating in sports or other activities. These students, to a greater extent than those in low-damage schools, admitted that they did nothing to better the school or that they actively did some harm to it. Student participation in planning school policies or programs was minimal, and students described vandalism as a result of boredom. They considered their principal lax and weak in his administration, their teachers mild and indulgent, and their custodian unfriendly toward them. They gave substitute teachers a "hard time." Their parents, who were usually engaged in "blue collar" occupations, either expressed an unfavorable, critical attitude toward the school or were noncommittal.

#### LOW-DAMAGE SCHOOLS

By contrast, low-damage schools exceeded them in the proportion of students who were preparing for college and students who felt that their school was the best or better than most. They reported that they and their friends worked actively to improve the school. For them, loyalty meant "doing something for the school." There was active student participation in planning programs and policies. These students interpreted vandalism as occurring in a spirit of revenge, or as an attempt to obtain peer-group acceptance. They respected and admired their school principal, felt that their teachers were excessively or moderately strict, and reported that the custodian was friendly toward the students. They did not report, to the same extent as students in high-damage schools, giving a substitute a "hard time." Their parents were largely professionals, executives, managers, or



proprietors who expressed a favorable attitude toward the school.

A relatively low level of interest in the academic program and a relatively low degree of self-identification with the school were characteristic of students in high-damage schools. A moderately high positive correlation was obtained between school damage rank and the proportion of students who were preparing for a job rather than for college. Dropout rates, at the legal age of sixteen, were strongly related to damage rank, and the rate of truancy arrests, although correlated at a level just below our criterion of acceptance, is consistent with the conclusion that students in high-damage schools have a low level of interest in education as compared with those in low-damage schools.

This lack of identification by students in high-damage schools is corroborated by reports of students and teachers that the most significant factor in the causation of vandalism is an attitude of boredom in students. Such boredom might be evidence of indifference or a feeling that the curriculum is inappropriate to the needs of the student. Boredom may also result from a lack of rapport between students and teachers. Whichever of these alternatives is accepted, the result is the student's alienation from, or his lack of identification with, the school.

### The School Histories

Through a series of interviews with school principals, teachers, and retired teachers, and, in some cases, through documentary materials, a member of the project staff studied the history of each school in order to obtain some generalizations about school organization which might contribute to the better understanding of the complex of factors presumably related to the

school property damage. These history items are not presented as causes of vandalism but as items associated with the problem of morale in the school. They were found in all schools, not in high-damage schools alone. The order in which these items appear below does not imply priority or rank in significance. No single item is to be considered of crucial import in itself. Most likely, the answer to our problem lies in the confluence of several of these factors; weakness in one area may be compensated for by strength in another.

Analysis of the histories brought out four categories of significantly *inter-related* situations affecting school morale: (1) change and instability, (2) administration and leadership, (3) identification with the school and its values, and (4) welfare, the feeling that the needs of staff and students are being considered.

#### 1. CHANGE AND INSTABILITY

Data in other parts of the study had seemed to show that high-damage rank is associated with low socio-economic status of the census tract in which the school is located, advanced age of the building, and low occupational status of fathers of students. High-damage rank was associated with high rate of window breakage, which occurs largely during the summer months, when the school is not in session. These factors, taken together, suggested that such schools are located in areas of low social status and high physical deterioration. Two of our low socio-economic rank schools, however, did not have the expected high rates of damage.

In the school histories, our respondents stressed the *transiency* and *instability* of the area rather than the low socio-economic level of the community. Changes in the residential com-

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munity in the direction of lower socio-economic status, changes in the student body toward greater heterogeneity and less consensus or rapid turnover in the school staff were held to lead to instability in the school organization. A break in the consensus of the staff, with the formation of cliques, resulted in some deterioration of relations. Frequent change in a large segment of the staff at one time contributes to insecurity, restlessness, and low morale and thus may disrupt the smooth functioning of the school. A change in the school program or the introduction of a new grade or class will create, at least temporarily, some disturbances in the ordered relations between school members. Such changes, if rapid or extensive, may affect the use of a common definition of conduct, thus increasing disorganization and the probability of deviant behavior by students.

It is very probable, therefore, that a low socio-economic level of the community coupled with instability and a high transiency rate are characteristic of schools with high rates of damage. In such an unstable area, the student is less likely to identify with the conventional values of education and of property than in a more stable and middle-class neighborhood.

## 2. ADMINISTRATION AND LEADERSHIP

The principal's leadership responsibility of setting standards of conduct was considered a function of his personality, of his ability to encourage staff teamwork, and of his consistency and fairness in discipline. The custodian, as a member of the administrative staff, may evoke cooperation or antagonism from the students.

The principal communicates to his staff and students the policies of his administration. He may be task-oriented, focusing his role on efficiently

and formally discharging the prescribed duties of the institution. Or, at the other extreme, he may be strongly oriented toward providing for the welfare of the members of the institution. Where communication between the principal on the one hand and staff and students on the other was poor, or where he did not define policy clearly, teachers and students were insecure in interpreting the roles they had to play. Where communication was purely formal and unilateral, where the school policy was arbitrarily determined by the principal, feelings of dissatisfaction were expressed. Where the orientation for new members in the school—principal, teachers, students—did not clearly define the school's policies as well as the roles of these members, the consequence was an atmosphere of insecurity, which led to anxiety and confusion.

## 3. IDENTIFICATION WITH SCHOOL AND ITS VALUES

The lack of identification of parents, students, and teachers with the principles which the school symbolizes characterized the low-morale institution. Contributing to disrupting school consensus was the formation of cliques, or the alienation of individuals from the school because the public identified it with "delinquents or hoodlums."

Students who felt uninvolved in the curriculum or ignored by the administration tended to have poor identification with the school. Where participation in extracurricular activities was limited by their interest in cars or the necessity of carrying part-time jobs while attending school, students tended to have little personal identification with the values explicit and implicit in the educational institution, and their relation to it was merely formal or perfunctory.

Analysis of the history data revealed that when identification of teachers or students with the school was weakened or lost, there was a loss in morale. A lack of identification of the school as an integral part of the community structure will impede student assimilation of the values and ideals of the educational system. Also, an unfavorable "reputation" or "modal personality structure" attached to the school, because of its history or adverse publicity, may prevent identification or alienate some of its members, thus decreasing the school's effectiveness in the control of conduct.

#### 4. WELFARE

Morale was associated with the feeling that the principal and the Board of Education were concerned with the students' and teachers' welfare and provided work and study conditions consistent with their needs. The school histories indicate that dissatisfaction arose when students felt that the school curriculum did not meet their needs, or when they felt that school administration was not sufficiently concerned with their welfare. Where students and parents feel that the welfare of the students is not being considered by the school administration, morale in the school and conformity to the school values will be low. Dissatisfaction was freely expressed in the interviews when the person being questioned felt that the curriculum did not meet the educational or vocational requirements of the students. Obsolescence of school apparatus, failure to repair broken equipment, overcrowding, etc., were interpreted as lack of interest in the students' welfare. Similarly, teachers working under adverse conditions, with no amelioration by the principal, the custodian, or the Board of Education, felt deeply frustrated. When students and staff felt that the administration was not

concerned with their welfare, compliance with the values of the school administration was, naturally, minimal. Students expressed their resentment overtly by action against the tangible aspects of the school—the physical plant and equipment.

The inference from the above reports is that insecurity and dissatisfaction in a school are conducive to the violation by children of some conduct norms applicable to property and education. These feelings may be engendered by a state of heterogeneity involving norm and value conflict, with confusion in role definition, lack of personal identification with the school, and the impression that school authorities are not interested in the welfare of staff or students. With a decrease in societal control, behavior becomes idiosyncratic, or possibly subject to direction by a deviant group or ideology. Individual or group violation of the societal conduct norms regarding property and education is thus facilitated and vandalism becomes a reality.

#### Implications for Educators

The existence of property damage committed by members of the student body suggests that the socialization of the child—the process of inculcating in him the conventional values and norms of conduct—has in some manner been defective. It implies that (1) the school, along with other social institutions charged with the responsibility for a child's socialization, has failed somehow to impress on him a concern for one of the strong middle-class values of our society—property; and that (2) the school has failed to duly impress the child with the particular value it represents—education. School property destruction, then, exposes this dual gap in the socialization process.

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# The Passaic Children's Bureau

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**L**AST March 17 the Passaic (N. J.) *Herald-News* had this headline: "Juvenile Crime Dropping in Passaic." According to the article below it, the city's delinquency rate, "contrary to the national upward trend, has run downhill slowly over the last five years." Nor was the small increase in 1960 enough to reverse this downward trend. "There was no evidence of any kind of juvenile gang activity. The amount of time and money spent on preventive measures really shows in this respect."

The Passaic Children's Bureau is one of those "preventive measures." Statistics over the years of its operation show that surprisingly few boys and girls were committed to state correctional institutions, while some annual reports have shown no commitments at all. Although intensely concerned with children who have already established a delinquent pattern, the Bureau is even more concerned with a program to prevent it.

The Passaic Bureau coordinates the various supervisory and counseling programs of the school district and cooperates with state, county, and municipal authorities as well as with public and private social and recreational agencies to help solve juvenile problems and provide services with a "team" approach. Its philosophy is

to expect and accept certain types of behavior from children as they progress through each stage of their growth. Although nonconforming behavior is not the usual, normal pattern for the majority of boys and girls, the Bureau is careful not to label as "juvenile delinquent" any child whose nonconforming behavior has been caused either by some force beyond his control or by socio-economic factors existing in his total milieu. Children who are socially deprived and emotionally maladjusted are more apt to become victims of the adverse influences leading to delinquency. Therefore, the Bureau is interested in children confronted with problems with which they are unable to cope and, by working closely with school personnel, makes every effort to prevent the children from developing behavior traits that might lead to serious delinquency. Early detection is important to any preventive approach.

## More Than 20 Years' Experience

The Passaic Children's Bureau, organized in 1937 to find a way of meeting the ever increasing problems of children and adolescents, was established through the interest of the mayor, who was then a member of the State Juvenile Delinquency Commission. In 1940, after the organization of

such a bureau by the Department of Public Safety was turned down by public referendum, the Board of Education, through a resolution and in cooperation with that Department, assumed full control of the Bureau and appointed Dr. William C. Kvaraceus as its director. During his three years in that capacity, Dr. Kvaraceus wrote *Juvenile Delinquency and the School* (New York, World Book Co., 1945), which described the Bureau's organization and plan of action. Dr. George C. Boone, who succeeded Dr. Kvaraceus as director, was responsible for the Bureau's growth for fifteen years, until he assumed his current position as New Jersey's Director of Education of the Handicapped.

The Passaic Bureau has set an example for any interested community that wishes to resolve the problem of juvenile delinquency and children's adjustment to their home, school, and community. In fact, two years ago, on January 15, 1959, Governor Robert F. Meyner signed "An Act to Authorize School District Boards to Establish Children's Bureaus to Combine Special Services of Schools and Municipal or County Departments." This law, proposed by the State Youth Study Commission and patterned after the Passaic Bureau's program, supplies services to children under the supervision of personnel appointed by the local district's Board of Education. It provides also for the services of social welfare caseworkers and other professionals the bureau might require.

Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the Passaic Bureau's program, let us take a quick look at the historical foundations as well as the present aspect of the community it deals with and works for.

### Passaic Profile

Passaic, a pocket surrounded on three sides by the city of Clifton and on the fourth by the Passaic River, was originally a Dutch settlement known as Aquackanonk Landing; in fact, some of the old Dutch colonial homes still stand there today. It is only twelve miles from New York City's Times Square, but the distance can't be traveled in less than half an hour; it is also twelve miles from Broad and Market, Newark's largest and busiest streets. Although the population has been decreasing steadily in the last fifteen years, the community still has a high population density rate—17,000 per square mile; its 54,000 residents live in an area of only 3.2 square miles.

Passaic's population has always been heterogeneous; it is made up largely of descendants of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe—Russians, Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Italians, and Germans. In the early days, new arrivals were met at the railway station by kinfolk and driven to that portion of the city where their particular nationality had established itself. About 5 per cent of the population is Negro, and in the last two years there has been an influx of some 900 to 1,000 Puerto Ricans.

The great diversity of national background presents problems for children and parents. Parental desires to cling to old world patterns and practices often conflict with their children's desires to adjust socially and educationally to the American way of life. In addition, population density makes for crowded living—as well as an increase in tensions—for the adults and the children who must adapt to their new surroundings. Occasionally, too, gang activities of New York and

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Newark have "spilled over the boundary lines" and made for numerous problems.

Primarily an industrial community, Passaic at one time was known as the handkerchief center of the world. Today, it houses such nationally known companies as Okonite, Manhattan, and U.S. Rubber, and is advertised as the "Birthplace of Television" because it is the home of Dumont Industries. It is the shopping center for a large population area and a residential community of white-collar workers.

A commission of five men, each elected for a four-year term, governs the city. The Board of Education, under whose direction the Children's Bureau functions, is comprised of nine members appointed by the mayor.

In April, 1957, a new high school costing more than \$3 million opened its doors to 1,193 pupils. Today, approximately 7,500 public school children are housed in ten buildings, and an equal number of parochial schools have an enrollment of about 4,000. The recreational facilities provided by such public and private agencies as the Y.M.C.A., Police Athletic League, Catholic Youth Organizations, the Boy Scouts, and the Canteen for Retarded Children help meet the needs of children at all age levels.

### How the Bureau Works

The Passaic Bureau serves all children under eighteen—the delinquent as well as the predelinquent, the gifted as well as the slow learner, the underprivileged and rejected child as well as the one whose parents are overprotective—placing emphasis on prevention, protection, and readjustment rather than on correction and punishment. It is composed of several coordinated units.

### THE POLICE UNIT

Three plainclothes detectives and one policewoman, paid by the Department of Public Safety, make up the Police Unit. They are referred to as investigators rather than as police, and were selected by the Board of Education from a number of candidates on the police roster. The Board of Education and the Department of Public Safety have an agreement that none of these persons can be removed or replaced without the Board of Education's consent. This agreement has been adhered to throughout the more than twenty years of the Board's sponsorship.

The police personnel, under the immediate direction of the Bureau director, are obliged to turn any apprehended juvenile offender over to the Children's Bureau, where his problem is analyzed and a staff member assigned to help the child readjust.

Through their close cooperation with the schools, the Bureau police are acquainted with boys and girls in the school situation. They are equally well acquainted with the places where boys and girls congregate outside the school, and will spend a good deal of time observing them in their neighborhood environment and at recreational activities. In this way, the children have learned to respect the police as friendly advisors as well as representatives and enforcers of the law.

The Police Unit is responsible for presenting to the county court those cases which, because of their seriousness or persistency, need to be heard by the juvenile court judge. In addition, they provide the judge with psychological evaluations, school reports, teacher opinions, a description of the child's environment, and other



necessary information. Since this information is also available to the probation department, the police can maintain good rapport with it as well as with the court.

The police personnel, who make many home visits in order to alert parents to their children's behavior, prepare for this by attending courses in child development and human relations and by taking in-service training at meetings of the Bureau's staff and the school's guidance counselors. Hence, they are able to counsel parents and make definite recommendations. A follow-up of these meetings then helps give continued support to both parent and child.

A secretary maintains complete records of all contacts the Police Unit makes. These records, completely confidential and kept in locked files, contain folders of the child's psychological and medical examinations, school reports, case histories for psychiatric referrals, and letters and notes. Newspaper accounts of delinquent acts are clipped and become part of the record. (Although there is no legislation preventing names of juvenile offenders from being printed, the local press has nevertheless adhered to an agreement which preserves their anonymity.)

#### CENSUS AND ATTENDANCE DEPARTMENT

Another most important unit of the Bureau is the Census and Attendance Department. Truancy is frequently found to be the beginning of more serious delinquency and its ramifications are often quite apparent. Unexcused absences may be an indication of poor adjustment to the school program, inability to compete with the classroom situation, parental neglect, lack of proper clothing, and the beginnings of questionable associations.

This unit's two secretaries maintain a complete, accurate census file of every child born in Passaic as well as of all other school-age children who have moved here with their families.

Three attendance officers—two men and one woman—pay daily visits to both public and parochial schools. One of them is a college graduate with teacher certification; another has done social work with boys and girls for many years; each can speak eight or nine central European languages. Not really truant officers as such—they do not "chase after" children to return them to school—they confer with parents and child regarding absences so as to determine the cause and correct it. They do not wait for a child to be absent several days before checking him, but will investigate a half-day absence if there is any indication it is not a legal one. Very often, the attendance officer is the Board of Education's first contact with parents.

During the past year, the attendance officers made 2,724 visits. Coupled with the Police Unit's 1,811 visits, this makes a total of 4,535 home contacts.

In addition to these functions, the Census and Attendance Department is responsible for issuing working papers and reporting law violations to the State Department of Labor. First, however, a child applying for working papers usually visits the school guidance counselor, from whom he receives advice regarding proper job placement. Frequent turnover is checked.

#### PSYCHOLOGISTS AND SOCIAL WORKER

The Children's Bureau has the services of two full-time psychologists and a social worker. Every boy or girl reported for a law violation receives an individual psychological test and

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counseling from the psychologist. Parents are asked to accompany their youngster so that they may have an opportunity to discuss any referral situation with the psychologist.

It is the social worker's responsibility to concern herself with the child's environment—his recreational activities, home life, church affiliations, camping experiences, and extracurricular activity. She also knows that early referrals are valuable in rehabilitation, and so maintains contact with community nursery schools. Since there is no family service agency in Passaic, the social worker conducts much of this type of work herself and serves as liaison when children are referred to clinics or agencies that are outside of the Bureau's realm. Often, too, she assists the psychiatrist in his work with children.

In addition to all this, the social worker maintains close relations with civic groups, P.T.A.'s, and similar agencies. Her job is coordinated with that of the schools' medical departments, and she frequently serves as a consultant for local, county, state, and national associations.

A part-time psychiatrist joined the staff of the Children's Bureau in January, 1959. He works with children individually or in groups one day a week, assists in in-service staff training, and works with groups of classroom teachers and special speech and reading instructors to increase their understanding of children's behavior as it affects the classroom situation.

On June 15, 1959, legislation was enacted that provided state aid to establish special educational services for emotionally and socially maladjusted pupils. These services consist of the kind of team approach—in the areas of psychiatry, school social work,

remedial instruction, and special education—of which the Passaic Bureau is a good example.

In respect to school problems, the Bureau staff several years ago had found, as did many others interested in juvenile delinquency, that boys and girls in trouble often had serious reading handicaps. A child who could not read would either plan escape from an unbearable class situation or else cause trouble. With this in mind, remedial reading teachers and speech therapists were added to the Bureau's services.

### The "Team" Approach

Completing the Bureau's "team" is its director, Dr. John Gower, who is also Assistant Superintendent of Schools. He is responsible for placing physically and mentally handicapped children in adjustment classes, but his interest lies also in the school's guidance program. Passaic provides twelve classes for those mentally retarded children who are trainable and educable, and will adjust the school program to meet individual needs—which also includes holding experimental classes for those with exceptional ability.

Basically, the Bureau is school-centered in aim. Since all delinquents at one time or another have attended school, and since schools are without doubt powerful instruments in influencing behavior, the Bureau tries, through its "team services," to furnish teachers with means of detecting and dealing with potential delinquents. And teachers, in their turn, have willingly accepted this preventive program as a challenge in resolving pupil behavioral and learning difficulties.

In a scientific approach to meeting a child's needs, the Bureau takes into

consideration his physical, emotional, and environmental conditions. Very often, poor health and poor physical development are causes of serious behavior patterns, as are a child's psychological maladjustment to life. In such situations as these are found the school misfits, the "failures," the personality clashes, as well as the adolescent with everyday problems of growing up. Then, too, as far as environment is concerned, some parents think that just "doing things for" or "giving things to" their children are the only elements of proper upbringing. But children need love, security, affection, and acceptance—the intangible "things" so difficult for many parents to give.

Today, referrals come to the Bureau not only from the police, but also from citizens, parents, and sometimes the children themselves. These referrals are provided with continued supervision when needed. For some, the Bureau demands restitution if the child has destroyed or stolen other people's property. Others are dis-

missed if their first offense has been trivial; while still others, if they cannot be reached after every effort, are referred for court action. But even in the last instance, the Bureau will continue to provide services under the juvenile court judge's jurisdiction.

Hence, the Bureau is able, as a team, to study the child from every point of view and to base recommendations on the results of that study.

This, then, has been the story of the Passaic Children's Bureau—the story of what one community, reimbursed by the state, has done to help its children. But it is the story of what *any* community can do if it really wants a program which evaluates the child from all angles. The fact that 56.4 per cent of Passaic's delinquents have had only an initial referral, while 18.6 per cent have repeated only once, together with the fact that only a small percentage of adult offenders were previously known to the Bureau as delinquents, testifies to the success of the Bureau's approach. We are solving problems, not just ignoring them.

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# The Story of "You and the Law"

EDITH B. LAUB

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**I**N THE fall of 1959, the Westchester Citizens Committee of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency undertook an educational project. Told by one of our county court judges that he had found many of the young people who appeared before him to be ignorant of the law and unaware of the seriousness of their offenses and the penalties involved, we determined to try to bring this information to youngsters before they got into trouble. Obviously, the way to reach them was through the schools—more specifically, through the courses in citizenship education. So we set out to see what we could do to make more law-conscious and law-abiding citizens of the boys and girls in our Westchester County schools.

## Preparation

The next few months were spent in interviewing. We talked with school superintendents and principals, social studies teachers, lawyers, judges, and sociologists to get their reactions to the idea. Next came the question of materials. We found little or nothing available in the way of texts. Films there were, and we spent hours viewing them in order to select the ones we thought best served our purpose. We studied the state syllabus for citizenship education courses to determine where a unit on law might best fit in. We consulted the district attorney to learn which crimes were most frequently committed by young

people. And then we tackled the job of writing a brief text for teen-age students that would give them some idea of the reason we have laws and the meaning of "government by law," some information about the courts, and the facts about the crimes most frequently committed by young people, the penalties that follow, and the results of a criminal record. We were most fortunate in having as a member of our committee an attorney who did the legal research and made an exceptionally fine job of restating the laws in simple, concise, layman's language.

We sent our first draft, with a request for comment and criticism, to all the people we had previously interviewed, as well as to a number of others, including the New York State commissioner of education.

While the idea of the project won unanimous approval, it soon became clear to us that there was considerable objection to including, in a booklet for junior-high-school-age students, some of the material we had prepared. We realized that, in certain groups, classroom discussion of crime would inevitably lead to questions about sex offenses, narcotics, and so on. Still we could understand the objection to putting information about such offenses into the hands of the more sheltered and less sophisticated teenager. To omit it entirely would, we felt, be unrealistic and unsatisfactory. After considerable discussion we de-

cided that the solution was to prepare two pieces of material: "You and the Law," a small pamphlet for the student, and a set of Teaching Aids which would contain, in addition to suggestions for introducing and motivating study, a list of films available without charge, reference books and suggestions for related activities, and a section called "Crimes & Penalties." The latter is a statement of the laws most frequently broken by young people and the specific penalties involved, which would, we believed, enable a teacher to answer any question which might arise, while leaving to his discretion how much of this information should be given to any class.

### Trial Period

A social studies teacher at Scarsdale High School, William Steele, Jr., had been interested in our project from the start. He had helped us with the selection of films, had discussed available materials with us, and offered to try out our unit in his ninth grade citizenship education classes. In December, 1960, the first mimeographed booklets were ready and Mr. Steele and another ninth grade citizenship education teacher, Miss Donnette Hatch, each devoted a week to the unit in their classes. Both teachers and their students were enthusiastic about the experiment. Since that time a number of other schools in Westchester County have used the material.

On February 20, 1961, the *New York Times* carried an article about "You and the Law" and the Scarsdale experiment. Immediately letters poured in from all over the country requesting copies of the booklets and further information. Typically, the letters said, "It's a wonderful idea. I've been thinking of something of this kind for a long time. How can

we go about doing the same thing?" Obviously, our attempt to reach the average youngster—not the "criminal type," the openly rebellious or anti-social—met with a sympathetic response throughout the country.

### Widespread Response

On Sunday, April 16, a story by Dorothy Barclay entitled "'Law Course' for the Young" appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*. Within ten days after publication of the article—a remarkably fine presentation of our project and the philosophy behind it—we received close to 500 letters. We are fascinated by the wide range of individuals who express an interest in what we have done. For example, from the Division of South East Asian Studies of Yale University came this letter:

I was very much interested in the report on the "law course" for young people which you and your far-sighted colleagues are running. The law, in most countries, is often taken for granted, or regarded as technical phrases and expressions which belong to the books and the courtroom only. It is important that the law lives in the daily life of the community.

I come from Burma where we face a big problem of educating the young for democracy. I am a lawyer there, and I also teach at the law school in Rangoon, and I am here for a period on a research grant from the Ford Foundation. I would be grateful to have a copy of the booklet. . . . I hope I will be able to make the benefits of your experience available to people of similar interests in Burma, and I am confident you would like me to do that.

And from Princeton University:

As a lawyer in Denmark I have been working with a newly started organization which has the program to educate the people in the meaning of law, justice, and democracy.

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As a visiting fellow at Princeton University I have had during my year here the possibility to see how much further you are with civil education in this country than in mine.

The above-mentioned organization consists of leaders from various groups of the population—the church, the Supreme Court, the Bar Association, the Folk-High School, the radio, etc. This group felt that there is much talk about the rights of a democracy but very little about the duties. To get inspiration for the work ahead I would be very happy and grateful if you could send me some information on the materials mentioned in Mrs. Barclay's article.

A Professor at Fordham University Law School wrote as follows:

The experience of your group because of its unique geographical and social environment is particularly relevant to a new program with which I recently have become associated. The Willamette University College of Law, Salem, Oregon, has accepted a grant from the Ford Foundation to establish for an initial three-year period an experimental project designed to more adequately integrate the law student with the inter-disciplinary problems he will face in his professional career. I have accepted an appointment to the Willamette Law Faculty to direct this program. It will involve two hours of seminar and four hours of internship participation during the senior year of law school. Included among the several areas upon which we will concentrate our attention are the problems of the juvenile. Hence I would be grateful if you would forward a copy of the booklet, "You and the Law," the teacher's guide, the bibliography, and the film list.

And a student says:

I read the article . . . and was very pleased with the idea. As an 8th grade student at Isaac E. Young Junior High School in New Rochelle, I am fairly well acquainted with some of the problems

which might lead to the establishment of such a "law course."

I myself am quite interested in the law and its workings, and I feel that such a method of teaching law and its everyday application to young people is quite necessary. Unless we are taught at a young age (mainly about the laws that pertain to us), we may never really learn what law is and just how it is to be obeyed.

I am very glad that you ladies have taken on a responsibility which is so pressing and so important to the American community.

The New York City Housing Authority hopes it can use the material with the 5,000 children residing in Red Hook Houses; a banker in Watertown, N. Y., says, "Our local bar association has been conducting an informal course in our high school for the past year. It would seem that having the course made a regular part of the curriculum would be a much better way of educating our young people in the law"; and a letter from a local police department in New Jersey says, "We think it may be of tremendous service to us in our school system." A psychiatrist writes, "As Associate Clinical Director of the Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, I have been reminded constantly of the failures in our society to make children and adolescents conscious of the implication of law violations. Your work should be very helpful in this direction." A caseworker in the Family and Children's Service of Lycoming County, Pa., says, "I think I would find it very helpful and I wish to give a copy to our local judge." An associate professor at Ohio State University writes, "I think this is an excellent way to help our young people gain a greater appreciation of responsibility to self and society," and from Cambridge, Mass., a

letter states, "Both as a teacher and as a family member, I say 'thank you' to the people who have worked on this pamphlet." From a resident of an upstate New York community: "I have been a member of the Citizens Committee of the Onondaga County Children's Court for many years, but your approach in this publication is one we have not thought of using." And from a school-court liaison teacher: "I should like to distribute them to the principals in my school district. I think this is a fine piece of work your group has done, and it certainly is pertinent to our present problem of juvenile delinquency."

Two letters have been received from teachers in Navajo schools, one in Utah and the other in New Mexico. Both mention the differences that exist between the Navajo culture and our "White Man's Law" and express the hope that our material may help bridge the gap between the seminomadic culture of the Indians and the missile age. And a most interesting letter from the far north, postmarked Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories, reads in part:

I am one of sixteen teachers in the largest Eskimo community within the Canadian North and though this situation is not unique, we are facing the problems of any rapidly growing community, among them matters that seem to work their way into our local law court in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police unit.

I realize that a great deal of your material would mean relatively little to my non-English Eskimo children, many of whom are meeting "civilization" for the first time, but I would like to know more about the work you have done and if possible obtain a copy of your booklet, "You and the Law."

Having been restricted by only the traditional law of the camp and to some

degree the elements, my fifteen-year-old boys can pose a great variety of questions as to why they must come to school and so on.

The information would also be of use in the work I do with an active Girl Guide company, again mostly Eskimo, where we start our program with the ten Guide Laws.

Orders have come in for copies for use with Boy Scout troops, church groups, girls' clubs and, of course, schools. A district attorney ordered 200 copies to be distributed to all junior and senior high schools in his county.

#### Reasons for Interest

Why has this project aroused so much interest? Is it because we are all—parents, teachers, judges, lawyers, police—deeply concerned about our young people and this is addressed to them as normal, average boys and girls, not as "problems," the "emotionally disturbed," or "criminal types"? Is it because, in its very simplicity, it does something that many people had thought of but that no one previously had attempted to do? Letter after letter states, "I have long been thinking about something of this kind." Or is it because the fact that this was undertaken and carried through by a group of citizens—non-professionals—gives hope to groups in other communities that they too can do the same?

It is, of course, too early to assess the results of such a program. It would require several years' experience and controlled research to prove its effectiveness in combating delinquency. But we feel that we are on the right track. The Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, meeting in the

spring of 1960, made the following recommendation:

That informational material and brief summaries of laws of major concern to young people be developed to help them avoid initial minor infractions which often lead to negative attitudes and more serious delinquency.

And Dr. Benjamin H. Balser, director of psychiatric training and research at St. Luke's Hospital in New York and professor of psychiatry at Columbia University's School of Medicine, is quoted by Dorothy Barclay as saying, in reference to "You and the Law":

Youngsters at the beginning of adolescence, for all their apparent brashness, are really down-deep scared about what is ahead of them. They are well aware of the dangers that go with growing up. They themselves ask for limits. They want to know what the boundaries are. They should know what laws govern the situations they are most likely to face and they should know what the possible penalties would be if these laws were broken. Youngsters want to know where they stand.

If, as we used to be taught, knowledge is power and if ignorance of the law is no excuse, then knowing the legal facts of life can do no harm,

only good. "You and the Law" does not deal with the moral questions of right and wrong. We believe that by the time a child reaches junior high school, he knows that it is wrong to take what does not belong to him. Nor does it aim at controlling actions through fear of the consequences. Rather it states factually that certain activities, which might be entered upon as pranks or "good gags," are actually crimes and carry serious consequences. "Know what you are doing" might be its motto.

We have received numerous inquiries from communities outside New York State for information as to how they can best undertake such a project. "You and the Law" was planned for use in New York State and is based on the laws of New York. For use in another state, it would have to be revised to conform to that state's laws—not a difficult task. Any group of citizens could undertake such a revision, with the assistance of an attorney or the state or local bar association. We hope that many will do so and that they will find it as exciting and rewarding an experience as it has been for us.

# School and Court Working Together

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THE teachers' lounge of a big city elementary school was recently the scene of an informal committee meeting that produced an unusual discussion. The several men present, meeting with the school's principal, included a neighborhood house director and representatives from the juvenile court's probation staff. The school itself is located in a fringe area containing many families that are transient, broken, or marginal in other respects. It has more than its share of problem children, so it was especially refreshing to hear the principal talking about special help for children with behavior problems. No feeling was expressed that these irritants should be expelled or shifted to other schools. Here, instead, was a feeling that such problem children might even be shifted to this school from other schools. Here was a school reaching out for problems to work with.

The committee on this occasion was considering ways to organize a group program in the neighborhood, an afterschool program that would en-

rich the lives of some of the neighborhood's children and be a therapeutic influence in respect to some of their specific problems.

Worthwhile endeavors like this reflect rather directly the personality of some particular leader. In this instance, the planning was made possible by the brightly aggressive interest in troubled children that made the principal of this school a standout. He did not surrender the concept that education itself is the primary responsibility of the school, but he saw that, in his school at least, many children could not assimilate the education unless a more successful emotional adjustment were guaranteed.

So, in this committee meeting the school, the court, the neighborhood house, all saw their separate functions heavily overlapping, but they moved along together to help children toward a goal that was of vital interest to all three agencies.

The relative infrequency of this kind of approach reminds us of the

wide variance in the attitudes of different school administrators—and different judges or probation administrators.

We were reminded of this by another meeting recently held at a school, at which were present the principal, the assistant principal, two teachers, a probation officer, and in the midst of this formidable group, Frank, the thirteen-year-old who was the subject of the meeting. The meeting had been called by the school because of Frank's aggressive behavior: one incident of smoking on the school grounds and his generally poor achievement records. Frank had been on probation for six months for several stealing episodes. The principal graphically outlined Frank's bullying tactics in the school yard, his lack of respect for his teachers, his poor achievements, and ended with: "We cannot keep Frank in school any longer. He is a problem child who can be handled only in a training school." Then, to the probation officer in Frank's presence: "Don't you agree?"

This kind of meeting had been relatively common in the school. The principal, in his own words, ran a "tight ship," tolerating little in the way of misbehavior. This was especially so if the child involved was on probation. To the probation officer's mind, however, the school offenses, although irritating, had not reached the extent and quality of warranting commitment to a training school. This kind of pressure exerted by the school, and especially barbed by reason of Frank's sullen manner during the discussion, placed the probation officer in an extremely awkward position. His relationship with Frank was at stake and his relationship with the school, tenuous at best, was in danger of being lost.

In still another instance, a school had called the probation officer to a conference including the principal, assistant principal, school social worker, and school counselor. The subject of the meeting, Pat, a sixteen-year-old girl, was not present. Her behavior was essentially much like Frank's—poor school achievement, aggressiveness toward other students, and occasional truancy. The purpose of the conference, as defined by this school, was to determine how the school could best utilize its resources to help Pat. Their concern was not how they might get rid of her, but rather how they could integrate their services with that of the court so that Pat could remain in school and gain something from the educational experience. The school social worker summarized Pat's school experience; he noted that she had attended five schools and he indicated that the parents' lack of concern for a meaningful school experience was a large part of Pat's troubles. Then the assistant principal pointed out that the school was realistically concerned about Pat's disruptive influence on other students, and he suggested that, before her behavior reached serious proportions, pooling the knowledge of both the court and the school might prevent her expulsion. A further summary was given by the probation officer, outlining Pat's delinquent behavior, her marginal adjustment on probation, the parents' fear of court and their subsequent complaint that Pat was the sole cause of all the family's problems.

Armed with this knowledge, everyone agreed that a change of curriculum would be a starting point in helping Pat. The present curriculum was weighted with academic courses, and Pat could not meet the demands of this kind of schedule. The counselor



suggested that serious consideration be given to placing Pat on the work-study program of the school, which would involve a half-day of academic program and, for the remaining half-day, a job placement. Such a program would lessen not only the academic pressure but also the parental pressure by virtue of Pat's contribution to the family's income. The school social worker further suggested that this program first be discussed with Pat's parents. Recognizing the parents' negative feelings about the school and the court and involving them in this planning would help them to feel that both agencies were sincerely concerned about their problems in handling Pat.

#### **Compatability Is No Accident**

This kind of intelligent, conscientious consideration by personnel of both the school and the court can do much to reconcile the viewpoints of the two. Inevitably the school and the court will often have these conflicting points of view. The school principal may take a narrow view of his responsibilities toward his pupils, and the probation officer may be unappreciative of the school's position in respect to the madly irritating delinquent in the classroom.

No matter how we look at it we are starting from different bases. The school's responsibility is for education—education for all children—and it must teach these children in classroom-sized groups. Just as certainly, the probation officer is dealing with individuals; every probationer is a distinct and separate case.

If luck is with us, a probation case may bring together a probation officer and a principal who can see eye-to-eye and reach the same conclusions about the best way to handle their common concern, the probationer. If

we are not lucky, there will be chronic friction between probation officer and principal that can easily erupt into a broader conflict between court and school.

In one city recently, a newspaper story under a screaming headline began as follows:

City school officials are preparing a report which blisters the Juvenile Court for its failure to send young hoodlums to reformatories. Many of these incorrigibles are returning to the classrooms, much to the chagrin of the teachers.

There is nothing new about this complaint. It can arise from either or both of two conditions: incompatibility of approach between that court and that school, or insufficient resources so that the court has no choice except to return the children to the public schools.

To take the last point first: in most areas these days training schools are distressingly overcrowded. "Get tough!" the community tells us. But the community forgets that we have already gotten so tough that institutions can hold no more unless we resort to absurdly short lengths of stay for the committed children.

Of course, if the court is unconcerned and doing nothing about this, then the school has a right to be annoyed. Sometimes, however, the court is urging more services and getting little support for its efforts. Here, then, is the time for the school to join hands with the court in campaigning for the resources they both need.

In our own city, Minneapolis, we are especially pleased that a committee of principals has taken splendid initiative in this respect. They have shown constructive interest in the court's problem of resources and have generously given their time to pro-

mote needed legislation and other processes for getting more services. As can easily be imagined, such an effort also has the worthwhile by-product of improving relations between school and court.

Where this understanding of and sympathy for each other's function are absent, the deficiency has to be tackled at its base. In the long run, the best results may be obtained case by case and probation officer by probation officer. Administrative level efforts should not be neglected, but nothing else will work if the liaison is not friendly and effective at the probation officer-teacher level.

The free sharing of case information alone will accomplish much. The probation officer needs to know what the school knows about the child—school adjustment records, intelligence tests, grades, etc.—and the officer in return can give certain information sometimes useful to the school—pertinent family history, neighborhood contacts, diagnosis of severe emotional problems, etc.

Another helpful routine is the practice of geographical assignment of probation officers, for it enables any one school to work consistently with just one probation officer on all cases. The school then becomes accustomed to that officer's way of operating. Because he is the only probation officer assigned to the school, his visits there are frequent and he becomes "home folks." This insures easy and prompt communication—and there is no better antidote to misunderstanding. With just one probation officer working in the school, the dealings with that school are more efficient, responsibility for cases there more clearly fixed, case handling more consistent.

We do not mean to suggest that the probation officer will have contact

with all personnel of the school he serves. He should know the principal and the assistant principal, and, when the school is fortunate enough to have one, the school social worker. By way of her training and knowledge of the school in which she works, the school social worker is, perhaps, the probation officer's most valuable ally. She can be of great help in interpreting to the school administration and teaching personnel the philosophy of the juvenile court. Her knowledge of the teaching personnel enables her to decide what information on children can best be shared by school personnel and the probation officer, and she can select the personnel to handle such information constructively. Since schools vary in their approach and attitude toward the delinquent child, the school social worker is in a good position to interpret this to the probation officer so that together they can achieve the maximum benefit of the school experience for each child.

It is mandatory that a probation officer be thoroughly acquainted with the principal and other administrative staff, whether or not a school social worker is available. The relationship can have practical benefits—for example, permission to use office space for interviews and the use of the school's specialized services for probationers. The relationship should be truly professional, but this does not prohibit an occasional cup of coffee in the teachers' lounge. In fact, it is in such social contacts that the probation officer's personality is projected in a way that can create an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding.

### The Role of Intake

For schools in large communities, the initial point of contact is usually

the intake unit of the juvenile court. Intake serves the overall community and therefore will have a larger variety of contacts with that community's schools. The contacts will many times be directly with Board of Education administrative personnel; an example is the case conference on truancy and incorrigibility involving direct referral from the school. At this point intake can be extremely effective for school-court liaison, for it is in a good position to observe a school's prevalent attitudes toward delinquency and juvenile courts and to interpret to the school the function of the court and the type of probation services available. In screening cases referred for court action, intake can help delineate for the school those cases that can be better handled by agencies other than the juvenile court, thus pointing out that the court and its authority cannot always be the answer for all school problem cases. Intake accepts those school problem cases in which the degree of antisocial behavior requires some kind of court action.

It is incumbent upon the probation officer to initiate and maintain a working relationship with the school. For one thing, the probation officer is more mobile; he has a car, is reimbursed for mileage expenses, and is expected to get around on his job. School personnel are much less privileged to travel during school hours.

The juvenile probation officer particularly must attempt to understand the school's frame of reference: its business is to educate, and only secondarily—if at all—to rehabilitate, delinquent youngsters. The two are not incompatible, but to effect the process of readjustment for the probationer, the probation officer must accept that

basic premise. Armed with this knowledge of both the school's primary function and the attendant problems when he attempts to help a probationer readjust in this setting, the probation officer is in a much better position to serve his probationers.

Unfortunately, some officers, in their zeal to use school services to help their charges, give the school the impression that the court has no grasp of the school's main responsibility—to educate all the children in the community.

Suggesting that the probation officer be available and helpful to the school does not mean that he should extend himself to the point of carrying out its administrative requests. Some officers, in order to please the school, sometimes find themselves in an awkward position in relation to the child whom they still have the first responsibility to serve. One school principal, for instance, routinely requested a probation officer to determine and carry out the penalty the school should exact for minor infractions of school rules. In accepting this responsibility, the officer found himself identified by his probationers as a school disciplinarian first and a probation officer second. The school, in turn, felt free to be critical if his methods did not produce the desired results. It is essential that the probation officer define for his school his responsibility to the court and the community. He can do this by meeting with school personnel and outlining these responsibilities, but a more meaningful way is through cooperative effort on individual cases. This kind of role definition, in the context of actual case discussion, serves also to define the ground rules of the court and the school.

### Function Must Be Clear and Consistent

There are occasions, unfortunately, when the school views the probation officer as synonymous with police. It may, for example, request the probation officer, in his authoritative role, to bring a child back to court or threaten him with court action unless behavior improves—in short, to serve as a “club.” A request for this kind of service indicates the school’s lack of understanding of the probation officer’s function; and any probation officer who complies with it in order to please the school will soon find himself classified, by the school, as a police officer. The probation officer must, in each of his cases, determine whether the child’s behavior is a product of a school-centered situation that can be directly handled by the school’s own disciplinary methods, or whether it is the kind of behavior which is a manifestation of the child’s problems and which he is in the better position to handle. Sharing this type of evaluation with the school, if done tactfully, should have the effect of deepening its understanding of the court and probation officer’s function. A label tends to induce certain expectations of the labeled object; the child labeled delinquent is more or less expected to live up to his label. And subsequently, if his behavior actually is delinquent, the school is often prone to use it as evidence that the child should not be in school. At the same time, the school may fail to recognize that similar behavior may be occurring in other students who may not have had the “benefit” of a juvenile court hearing.

John, a fourteen-year-old boy on probation and active with a guidance clinic, was showing behavior problems in school. When the school saw that his problems pertained directly to the

school setting, he was transferred to another school where he adjusted rather well for three months. Then he engaged in a fight with another boy. All evidence pointed to the other boy as the aggressor. Both boys were suspended. After two days, the school reinstated the other boy but refused to consider reinstating John.

Then ensued a conference to consider further plans for John. The probation officer wanted him to be returned to the second school but recognized that John was viewed there as an outsider and a disrupting influence. Therefore, he had two problems—re-entering John in school and changing the school’s attitudes toward probationers in general.

He began by sharing a complete evaluation of John’s background with the school, emphasizing the pressures it created for the boy. Another thing he shared was a summary of the progress John had made while being helped by the probation officer and the guidance clinic. In addition, he stressed the importance of the school’s role in the rehabilitative process and the significance of its work with John.

As a result of the officer’s efforts, the school is considering reinstating John, at least to the point of “giving him another chance.” An opening wedge has been made in accepting him as one student among many—admittedly one with problems but also with potential as a student even though he is on probation.

These kinds of circumstances give the probation officer an opportunity to effect a change in attitudes, especially through the type of conference mentioned and with other agencies present viewing the case from the probation officer’s perspective.

The above story illustrates how the school may, in prejudging probation-

ers, prescribe penalties for them that are over and beyond their usual disciplinary measures; and how, on the other hand, the court and the probation officer may regard the juvenile in trouble as a person who is in need of the specialized services and activities the school provides. A strange situation can develop in cases where the probation officer, with court-granted authority, has to defend or protect the juvenile from the school's authoritative approach.

The probation officer and the court can enhance the school's knowledge of court functions by inviting faculty members to attend court hearings involving their own students. Obviously this cannot be done in every case, but it should certainly be done when a child's delinquent behavior is directly related to the school situation. Again, school criticism, when it cannot be answered satisfactorily by the probation officer, is best met and understood by involving the school directly in the court process.

Sometimes, our penchant for keeping court proceedings and records confidential results in criticism that can be answered only by sharing case information. Often juvenile courts and probation officers see the delinquent as their own special charge, and mistrust any agency exhibiting interest in the case, especially if this interest is expressed through criticism. To serve the delinquent child well we will have to share information with the resources from which we want cooperation. The school has a vital role

to play in rehabilitating the delinquent, and it is the job of the court, with its knowledge of the child, to help the school understand more fully that its rehabilitative role complements and supports its primary role as educator.

The probation officer can become a better liaison with the school by participation on committees in his school area. In our city, one such committee operating in a designated high school district, which has two junior high schools feeding into the high school, is composed of key school personnel, settlement house personnel, representatives of public welfare agencies, and the district's two probation officers. It has proved an excellent vehicle for sharing information, interpreting the functions of school and agency, evaluating community standards, preventing duplication of effort, defining areas of responsibility and, of course, working through problems and disagreements on specific cases.

When the school and the court drift apart because of differing philosophies, it is time for each to recognize the values and positive aspects of the other's responsibility. Unless this is done, an incalculable disservice may be done to those youngsters whom both the school and the court are charged by the community to help. And perhaps we should remind ourselves, too, that if the school and court are going to get together, neither one should leave the initiative to the other.



# Getting the Returnee Back to School

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**A** COUNSELOR charged with the responsibility of effecting school placement for children returning from institutions is often in the position of a matchmaker trying to bring together two people with an active dislike for each other.

Many teachers are unwilling to accept returnees from institutions into their classes or... are often cold and hostile to the returning student.<sup>1</sup>

In the cases studied by us, almost two-thirds of the boys had a history of truancy, and in more than half of the cases... the boys were absent from school without excuse for at least half of the total school period preceding their admission to the Training School.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately, mutual repugnance is not always the case. Many children return to the community with some understanding of the forces contributing to their delinquency and with a strong desire to "make good." In addition, there are many teachers who welcome the opportunity to assist in their rehabilitation. When both parties have a positive feeling toward each other, the matchmaker's role is simple and rewarding.

But all children returning from institutions—regardless of whether they want school or the school wants them

—must go to school if they are the right age, physically fit, and of sound mind. The New York City Board of Education, though cognizant of the difficulties involved in the returnee's absorption into the school system, is determined that he shall not be denied the education that is his due. In conjunction with the institutions to which children are committed, machinery has been set up to reduce these difficulties to a minimum. The machinery is far from perfect; procedures are constantly modified when it becomes apparent that a change will result in more successful transition from institution to public school. Let us take a look at this machinery, examine some of the points at which it falters, and see what is being done to achieve smoother operation.

## Machinery for Transition

Before a New York City boy or girl (henceforward, for the sake of convenience, we shall refer to returnees as boys) is released from an institution, the progress committee of the institution reviews the findings and reports of all personnel who have had major contact with the boy during his stay. If the committee decides to release him and recommends further schooling, a form (which we shall call the school form) is sent to the New York City branch of the institution, where it is turned over to the youth parole worker responsible for the boy's after-care. The school form contains a

<sup>1</sup> William C. Kvaraceus, *Delinquent Behavior*, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1959, Vol. 2, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Erwin Schepes, "The Academic School Experience of the Training School Student," *Federal Probation*, June, 1955, p. 47.

record of the boy's scholastic achievement at the institution and a brief summary of his adjustment there.

When the boy arrives in the city, his youth parole worker informs the counselor who has been assigned by the New York City Board of Education to supervise school placement of returnees; this counselor arranges to meet with both the youth parole worker and the returnee. Parents of returnees are welcome, but few attend these meetings. The interview, which usually takes place about a week after it is requested, is a two-stage affair. In stage one, involving the youth parole worker and the counselor only, the counselor reviews the school form, and the worker goes into the boy's background, reports on his own work with the boy, and makes recommendations. The boy is then introduced to the counselor (stage two) and his educational and vocational goals are discussed. Eventually, a school and a course are agreed upon. The worker receives from the counselor a directive addressed to the principal of the school selected and then escorts the boy there. At the school the directive is presented to the principal or his delegate, who greets the boy and assures him of interest and support from school personnel. The boy is then given a program in keeping with his educational plan and achievement level and soon becomes absorbed into the life of the school.

#### **"Bugs" in the Machinery**

That is the way things are supposed to happen. Now let us examine the blocks to smooth operation, why they exist, and what is being done to overcome them.

The first serious breakdown in the machinery comes when there is a lapse of time between the boy's release and his placement in school. There may be

various reasons for this delay: (1) the boy may have been released for employment; (2) he may deliberately avoid the placement interview; (3) the youth parole worker may be new to his caseload and may need time to "catch up"; (4) the placement counselor may feel that the boy is not ready for school placement; and (5) institutional releases may be so numerous at that time of the year that the placement office cannot keep up with them.

If, prior to release, the boy has indicated to institution personnel that he intends to seek employment, the school form is not sent to the New York office. However, if the boy cannot find work, or does find a job and cannot hold it, he may decide that he wants to go to school; or, having failed to find employment and content to hang around the streets, he may be picked up by an attendance officer or a member of the Youth Squad and be obliged to go, "creeping like snail, unwillingly to school." In either case, the necessary school form is then requested from the institution and the placement machinery is set in motion.

At a time when unemployment is a national problem, the institution boy looking for work is at a disadvantage, and it can be readily understood how the above situation can arise. However, institutions maintain contact with agencies dedicated to finding work for young people, and every effort is made to help the boy who is seriously entering the job market.

To better conditions in this area even more, one of the largest institutions is planning a program of pre-vocational guidance, which will give not only occupational information about entering jobs, but training in such basics as filling out applications, grooming for and handling the job interview, on-the-job grooming, prop-

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er use of the telephone, and so forth. Boys from culturally deprived families need this kind of preparation as urgently as the sub-deb needs her finishing school.

A school-age returnee not motivated for school often "gets sick" on the day of the interview. A series of illnesses, messages misinterpreted or unreceived ("I thought the appointment was for *next Thursday!*") can effectively block school placement for a long time. If, while the boy is parrying attempts to place him, his worker leaves or is transferred and his replacement takes a while to become thoroughly acquainted with his caseload, an artful dodger may go unplaced for months.

Occasionally the counselor does not feel that regular school is in order for the boy. It then becomes necessary either to offer some other type of schooling or to establish the returnee's fitness for conventional school. Special schooling requires special screening by the service to which the boy is referred; clearance for conventional school usually involves a psychiatric evaluation. In any event, there will be a time loss.

Should psychiatric evaluation be necessary, it has been agreed that institution personnel may be employed—a procedure recently adopted by New York in the interests of expediency. Previously, dubious school risks were referred to the Board of Education's Bureau of Child Guidance; but the Bureau, frequently called upon for more urgent services, could rarely give an immediate appraisal of a returnee. And so, long delays were often the rule. In contrast to this, the institution psychiatrist is available almost on demand.

The three last-mentioned causes of delay—an unwilling client, turnover in agency personnel, and screening by

the placement counselor—can be considerably reduced if the counselor interviews the prospective returnee while he is still at the institution. While the boy is away, the school is selected and the directive to the principal is mailed to the New York office, where it is ready and waiting when the boy arrives in the city. His worker, new or old, can then escort him to school without any waste of time.

If screening for a special service is necessary, it is done before the boy's release so that whatever part of the school system he is destined for will be known before he hits the city. There is no necessity for a long period of mounting anger while the boy hangs around waiting to find out what will happen to him.

Of course, there are practical considerations which stand in the way of interviewing *all* boys before they are released, but the number has been increasing dramatically. In 1959, about thirty boys were so interviewed; in 1960, over 170. We hope that even more can be seen before their release this year.

To return to the prerelease interview procedure, which helps in still another way: A large number of children are released late in June or during July and August, and in September the opening of school finds so many unplaced, waiting children that, despite the Board of Education's valiant attempt, it is almost impossible to enter them all before school begins. Last year, however, about forty returnees were seen during the summer and so the September crush was alleviated by that number.

The watchdog role of the Bureau of Attendance has been another means of reducing the delay in school placement. By requesting that institutions notify them of any boy who is out of

school more than ten days after his release, the Bureau can assume the responsibility of following through until he is put on a school register.

On occasion, placement machinery bogs down during the interview itself, where the interpretation of a boy's behavior by an institution-oriented worker sometimes proves unsatisfactory to a school-oriented counselor. Very often, the institution is interested merely in returning a boy to school and the community. And, although it may not necessarily believe he will make a satisfactory adjustment, the institution would nevertheless like to give the boy an opportunity to try. If, however, the counselor has any suspicion that the applicant may be dangerous to others or that he may need the kind of attention not available in a public school, it is inadvisable to admit him until the suspicion has been allayed. In such cases, a psychiatric evaluation is generally demanded.

The heart of the interview, of course, is that part conducted with the returnee, who is usually somewhat overwhelmed by the situation. The counselor's first task is to relax him sufficiently so that he can think clearly about the business at hand. Most problems arising during the interview concern the school and course the boy wants. Sometimes his goals are unrealistic in terms of his natural endowments and he must be directed toward an educational and vocational goal in keeping with them; sometimes what he wants is unavailable because admission to certain courses is made only after qualifying examinations are passed and these exams have been given long before the interview takes place; sometimes there is just no room in the preferred course.

A vocational sequence starts with the beginning of the tenth year in the New York vocational high schools. A

boy who has gone beyond the ninth year at a training school cannot be placed in the tenth year of a vocational course. He frequently prefers a school which gives him the prestige of a higher grade placement, though he cannot get the trade training he would like.

Both these trouble sources are being attacked. The placement counselor sends the institutions a list of examination schools with dates of the exams. Some institutions make arrangements to transport aspirants for examination schools to the scene of the exams when they are given. Boys from these institutions then lose none of the opportunities that other New York City students enjoy.

The matter of admitting a boy into a vocational school at a grade level compatible with his achievement is being met by introducing into the institutions curricula which run parallel to public school courses. For this purpose, the placement counselor has arranged for training school personnel to visit those New York City schools which offer courses in demand by their boys. Their plan is to organize institution courses in such a way that a boy pursuing one of them at a training school will be able to step into the same course, at the same level, upon admission to a public school.

Another "bug" that sometimes develops in the placement machinery is the school itself. Aftercare workers still report that, upon his arrival at school, their boy, instead of a word of encouragement and a program, received a dead-fish handshake and a warning to the tune of: "We've got a good school and we want to keep it that way. Remember, one false move and out you go!" Fortunately, this sort of "welcome" is on the way out. Most school administrators today are guidance minded; if they question the

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appropriateness of assigning a particular returnee to their school, they do it after the boy has been civilly received and when he is well out of earshot, by telephoning the placement counselor.

The public school's concern about the returnee is often justifiable—especially when it does not receive the boy's complete school record. Often the boy's last school has not forwarded his scholastic records to the institution where he was committed. Comes placement time and the boy's new school finds itself at a loss to program him with only his training school records on hand. They put in a call for his past public school records, and, while waiting for them, program the returnee as best they can. When the records finally come through, the school may find itself in the odious position of ousting a boy from classes to which he is adjusting and putting him into ones which are more "appropriate" in light of the new information.

In view of the possibility of such situations, the school placement counselor is always available to public school personnel, who can call on him to expedite the transfer of records. Then, too, bi-pronged pressure—one prod from institutions, the other from the Board of Education—is being brought to bear on those schools discharging children to institutions so that they make sure to forward all the necessary records.

#### Why Not Let Them Go?

Sometimes, the Board of Education's insistence on school placement for poorly motivated returnees is challenged. Why force a boy to go to school if he doesn't want to and if his school experience has always been unhappy? Why not permit him to find a job, earn some money, and let him enjoy the grown-up feeling that going to work will give? Then, too, teachers

sometimes claim that if several boys from institutions are returned to the same school, they fuse into a nucleus of hard-core delinquency. We also hear the objection that, since most returnees either drop out of school or are sent back to institutions in short order, it is wasteful to give them all the time and energy they require at the expense of those students who have never exhibited delinquent behavior and could benefit from the services showered on the returnees.

The answer to these queries is always the same: The school *must* accept the returnee because that is its responsibility to the community and, if for no other reason, because the returnee is entitled to all the education and guidance every other child gets. Perhaps even more important is putting the returnee on register, as school attendance may be the community's last opportunity to effect desirable changes in attitudes. "In all cultures, education is designed to change the lives of students in accordance with objectives and standards of society."<sup>3</sup> A child is sent to an institution because he has departed from the norms of societal behavior. At the institution he presumably acquires some understanding of his problem, substituting new values for old and taking his first steps toward acceptable social behavior.

True, return to the community carries with it a period of parole, during which the returnee's behavior is observed and directed by a youth parole worker. But no worker is able to see his boy for several hours five days every week. Moreover, a boy who leaves an institution and does *not* go to school is faced with the same community forces which may originally

<sup>3</sup> E. G. Williamson, "The Meaning of Communication in Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Sept., 1959.



have encouraged his delinquency. Through its daily supervision and guidance of teachers, counselors, and administrative personnel, the school can support the youth parole worker and supplement the unavoidable paucity of his visits; it can deepen the roots and strengthen the tendrils of growth that made their appearance in the institutional greenhouse. No other community resource is so rich in opportunities to channel youthful energy into socially desirable activity. Guidance is a continuous process, and the school's job is to pick up where the institution left off.

That the returnee is not long for school, that he is a certain dropout, has been accepted almost as an axiom. However, a follow-up of returnees placed in school from September, 1959, to June, 1960, revealed that 45 per cent dropped out during the year. In the same period, the dropout rate among high school pupils throughout the city was considerably less. But one high school lost exactly the same percentage of its tenth-year pupils (the tenth year is the grade to which most high school returnees go) and one even more—49 per cent. Four returnees were graduated at the end of the school year. That's not many—but it's four.

An evaluation of our placement program revealed that all high schools did not have the same holding power over returnees; some were unable to hold a single returnee for an entire school year while others held them all.

The schools with the highest retention ratings did not come by them without reason. The first ingredient of their success was an attitude that reflected the guidance mindedness of the administration. This was apparent in the principal's approach to children with problems and percolated through the dean and counselors to

the entire faculty. The personnel selected for key positions were guidance-trained and were allotted adequate time to perform that function.

The returnee was welcomed, warmly welcomed, by the dean and was given the clear understanding that if ever anything troubled him he was free to come in and talk things over. He was persuaded of the reality of the open-door policy.

A youngster who presented a discipline problem was assumed to be a troubled youngster, and it was the school's job to find out what the trouble was. In the school which seemed to do most for the returnee, the counselor was allowed to deal with any problem once it was discovered. If a change of class was necessary, he arranged the transfer; if a short program was needed (so that a boy could hold an afternoon job), he gave it.

If the returnee wanted to leave school for full-time employment, he had to be interviewed first by his counselor, and the reason for dropping out was gone over thoroughly. Often, the boy was helped over some temporary hurdle and his plans were changed. There was a definite, determined effort on the counselor's part to keep the boy in school. The returnee knew he was wanted.

There is no doubt that getting the returnee back to school is a king-sized task, and it presents king-sized problems; but the 55 per cent who remained in school after their first year and the four who earned a diploma make the effort worth while. When these boys "make good" the school has really done a job of salvaging human resources. All that is needed is for the school to understand that returnees really want to rise above their past and for returnees to understand that the school really wants to help them do it.

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# The All-Day Neighborhood Schools

## Their Role in Delinquency Prevention

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IN HER comprehensive and perceptive book on juvenile delinquency, Sophia Robison concluded with five proposals for meeting the problem,<sup>1</sup> one of which is particularly relevant to our discussion on the role of the All-Day Neighborhood Schools in this ill-defined entity called the prevention of juvenile delinquency. I refer to Dr. Robison's reference that the sociological principle of clear definition of appropriate role must be applied to each institution charged with the responsibility of controlling or preventing delinquency.<sup>2</sup>

### The School's Crucial Role

Traditionally, schools have always been considered a panacea for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. In fact, this aspect of their function had a very great influence on the establishment of our free public school system. For example, in referring to a situation existing in 1833, when large numbers of immigrants flowed into our cities, Dr. Cubberly stated, "Idle and uneducated children, with little or no home control, appeared in numbers on the streets, and the prevalence of juvenile crime and juvenile arrests

began to turn attention to education as a possible remedy."<sup>3</sup> Today, both lay and professional opinion holds schools responsible for the apparent rise in juvenile delinquency.<sup>4</sup>

There is no question that the school has a responsibility in delinquency prevention, but educators have to develop the potential of all our children. The present crisis in world affairs is bringing pressures to bear on America for academic achievement and for scientific knowledge.

Many fields, such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology, have stressed that schools must socialize the child and prepare him for a constructive role in society as well as teach him fundamental skills. Over the last sixty years, data from these fields indicate that education cannot be effective if behavior patterns and learning attitudes crystallize into resistance and hostility. Professor Robert M. MacIver, a noted sociologist and Director of New York City's Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, states that schools are being increasingly challenged by the prevalence of mobility of population, migrant ethnic minori-

<sup>1</sup> Sophia Robison, *Juvenile Delinquency—Its Nature and Control*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529.

<sup>3</sup> Elwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States*, Houghton, Mifflin, 1934, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Robison, *op cit.*, p. 144.

ties, slum conditions, and unstable families.

A child's cultural background directly affects his achievement in school. The increase in the number of working women has changed traditional concepts of the family; when both parents work or when there is only one parent who is also the wage earner, a child will lack supervision during afterschool hours. Moreover, parental fatigue in the evening commonly prevents communication between adult and child. Thus, interest in the child's school work becomes secondary to the basic need of earning a living. In many homes, the absence of books and even newspapers widens the gap even more between home and school expectations. In regard to this, Professor MacIver makes the following statement:

In the underprivileged areas where the neighborhood, home, and parents may fail to provide children with the initial cultural orientation conducive to a smooth transition into school, the school may pose additional problems for the child, which may have a cumulative effect and lead to increasing maladjustment and failure. On the other hand, the school is a structured institution designed to pattern norms and behavior as well as to function as a vehicle for transmission of our cultural heritage and formal learning. In the lives of many disadvantaged children, the school may play the crucial role of providing a structured and enduring setting within which to develop meaningful and constructive relationships with responsible adults—experiences which such children may not have had until attending school. Also, the school exists in every neighborhood and involves every child.<sup>5</sup>

If our schools are to accept the many-faceted role assigned to them

today, they must develop new approaches and mechanisms for meeting the community's needs.

### The All-Day Neighborhood Schools

It is our belief, based on twenty-five years of experience in schools in low socio-economic areas, that the All-Day Neighborhood School Program has developed the techniques and processes applicable to metropolitan schools facing the problem of delinquency prevention. The program was instituted in the elementary schools because it is important to reach children as early in life as possible. It is difficult to prove the effectiveness of a program that reaches children before delinquency begins; it is even more difficult to reach adolescents whose patterns of behavior are already set. In a recent report of the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, the following statement appears:

The challenge to the schools, then, is the presence of increasing numbers of mobile, culturally impoverished children, handicapped by minority status, who sometimes resist and disrupt the school process. One response to this challenge is found in a culturally enriching and emotionally meaningful school program exemplified most clearly and rationally in that part of the New York City school system called the All-Day Neighborhood Schools. Like all programs that are preventive of the development of delinquency, this program is beneficial not only to problem children but to all children.<sup>6</sup>

This program was not launched with the idea of preventing juvenile delinquency. Its basic philosophy is that education, to be successful, must make use of a vast body of knowledge of child growth and development. Furthermore, it emphasizes that the

<sup>5</sup> *Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project—Interim Report No. XIII*, "The All-Day Neighborhood Schools," Dec., 1959, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

school cannot work in isolation. Home, neighborhood, church, and community agencies, all contribute to the process of education. The All-Day Neighborhood Schools stress the fact that the school, working in partnership with the home and community, can provide the kind of education which helps our children realize their potentials and become happy, well-adjusted, responsible citizens.

The program was initiated by a group of citizens whose children attended the City and Country School, a private progressive school in New York City. These parents had concrete evidence of the value of the type of education their children were receiving<sup>7</sup> and felt that, as citizens, they should work for better education for *all* children. If this type of school helped children from the more privileged homes, could it not meet the needs of all children? Caroline Pratt, founder and head of the City and Country School, profoundly believed that play is an important tool in the learning process. And so, the parents committee worked to introduce a program of constructive recreation into the public school. The availability of WPA workers made such a proposal possible, and the committee secured a teacher, trained at City and Country School and experienced in recreational and social work, as director of the project.

#### Chelsea School Project

The plan, started in 1936 in P.S. 33 in the Chelsea section of Manhattan, became known as the Chelsea School

Project. At the time, the Chelsea population was made up of thirty-three nationalities. Housing was poor; infant mortality and tuberculosis high. Many families were hit by the depression and malnutrition was prevalent. Parents were not accustomed to visiting the school unless summoned when their child had misbehaved. Would a recreation program reach children with so many serious problems?

Ruth Gillette Hardy, then principal of the school, was the first to notice a lessening of tensions in many children who were attending the afterschool program and using paint, clay, and tools, and participating in dancing, singing, and dramatics. The children met with the same leader each afternoon and, as a group, planned their activities; every child could participate in any activity when it was offered. Almost immediately the importance of the group leader became evident. Children were relating to a sympathetic adult who enjoyed being with them and who provided a variety of things for them to do. Although we had used the term "afterschool groups" for these activities, the children began calling them their "clubs."

Teachers who had previously questioned the value of afterschool activities became interested in the changes they noticed. They began to ask for help in modifying their school program to allow for creative and manipulative activities, after having found that such activities broadened the child's interests, developed their concepts, and, all in all, made learning more effective.

The next year the Public Education Association, an organization of citizens interested in the public schools, adopted the project as its field demonstration.

<sup>7</sup> In spite of all the hue and cry about so-called "progressive" education, sound education based on John Dewey's philosophy has been carried out in only a few private and public schools. American education has always been dominated by the classical tradition.

From the beginning, an effort was made to reach parents and to work with other agencies in the community. A home and school visitor secured parental cooperation in the aims of the school, while Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot, founder and director of the Hudson Guild Neighborhood House, welcomed us to the neighborhood and helped us to become part of the community.

### Development of the Project

After five years, the Public Education Association asked the Board of Education to evaluate the program; and, in 1942, as a result of this evaluation, the Board decided to set up a three-year demonstration in the Chelsea school and in a school in West Harlem that had an all-Negro population, under the supervision of the Elementary Division of the Board of Education. The program was now known as the All-Day Neighborhood Schools.

The Board furnished six regularly licensed teachers for each school and one clerk for both, and the Public Education Association continued to furnish the services of the director and administrator for each school.

Our firm conviction was that when teachers became better able to recognize children with problems, they needed the help of a trained worker to confer with them about some children and to give special care to others who required it. But since the Board of Education would not supply a worker from the Bureau of Child Guidance, the Public Education Association engaged a qualified psychiatric social worker and a special arrangement was made for her to have supervision by the Bureau of Child Guidance.

Having the Bureau worker located in the school serves in improving mutual understanding; social workers and psychologists become more sympathetic and understanding of the problems facing the teachers; teachers have more respect for the skills of the social worker, and feel less threatened by asking for help. Then, too, the extended school day made the child accessible to treatment from 8:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. "Since children can be seen in the school, they are available for treatment during periods of resistance when they might otherwise avoid agency contact. . . . Often it is possible to work with parent and child and avoid the shattering break that occurs when a child is removed from the family and community to receive institutional care."<sup>8</sup>

### Group Teacher Requirements

The successful, experienced teachers selected for the program had the point of view of guidance, and they came voluntarily; they were really interested in the type of work they were expected to do. They were designated as "group teachers" to distinguish them from classroom teachers. They worked the same number of hours as other teachers, but from 10:40 A.M. to 5 P.M. During the hours in which they were in school for the regular school session—until 3 P.M.—they worked with groups of children taken from certain specified classes. The work that went on during the hour was carefully planned in conference with both the classroom teacher and the group teacher. Since, at this time, both teachers were working with less than an entire class, they planned

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Rosner, "Therapy with 'Latchkey' Children," *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, April, 1957.



activities that would provide optimum benefit for the children. In this way, children received either individual help, an enriched program, or an opportunity for creative activities.

### The Afterschool Program

In the afterschool hours of 3 to 5 P.M., the group teacher had a group of not more than twenty-five children from approximately the same age and grade. Although these groups are voluntary, parents must register their children. Occasionally, when a child very much in need of the afterschool program cannot get his mother to come to the school, application blanks are sent home, but a continued effort is made to see the parent. In some cases, home visits are made by either the group teacher, the school social worker, the psychologist, or some other member of the school staff. Children are selected from the many applicants according to need; those who are unsupervised because both parents are working, or for some other reason, have priority. Others are recommended by the social worker, the principal, or a teacher on the basis of need for the activity or possession of some special talent that could be developed by the program.

During the three-year demonstration period, the staff of the Division of Reference and Research under Dr. J. Wayne Wrightstone evaluated the program and came up with favorable findings which led the way to expansion of the program. Accordingly, in September, 1945, two additional schools were designated as All-Day Neighborhood Schools; the Board of Education now supplied seven teachers—one to serve as administrator—and a clerk; and three full-time social

workers from the Bureau of Child Guidance were also assigned.

The Public Education Association continued to furnish the services of the director until 1949, when, through the regular process of examination, the director became a member of the staff of the Elementary Division assigned to the All-Day Neighborhood Schools.

### Effect of the Program

Principals, teachers, and social workers can cite innumerable instances of changes in children who have been served by the All-Day Neighborhood Schools. Children who could not otherwise be kept in school are now being helped to adjust to it through the services provided.

As an example, let us take ten-year-old Verilla, who is now functioning normally in the fourth grade and is typical of the children being reached in our schools. At six, when Verilla entered the school, she could not be kept in a classroom for more than an hour. She fought with the children and created disturbances by shouting or running around. Referred to the Bureau of Child Guidance, she could not be accepted for treatment because of lack of cooperation from the home. Instead, the group teacher and the administrator, with the consent of the principal, worked out a modified program through which she could remain in school. With the attention given her, Verilla was gradually able to abandon her erratic behavior.

These children, helped by the All-Day Neighborhood Schools to build up a feeling of self, develop better attitudes toward schools. This results in an improvement in their behavior as well as in their studies.

Recently, a boy who once attended an All-Day Neighborhood School was elected by his college to represent it in Denmark this summer, while another college student volunteers in the evening community center because, as he says, he knows what the All-Day Neighborhood School meant to him when he was growing up.

### The Program Today

At present, there are twelve All-Day Neighborhood Schools in low socio-economic and high delinquency areas. Many of the children come from hard-to-reach, problem families. The neighborhoods in which these schools are located have few if any social agencies other than the school. Because of the increasing demands made upon it, the Bureau of Child Guidance no longer gives full-time service to the All-Day Neighborhood Schools.

It has become increasingly evident through the years that the schools play a most significant role in such neighborhoods. They must provide a program of education to compensate for the lacks in the home; they must create the emotional climate necessary for learning to take place. Often it is only in school with a sympathetic teacher that a child gains that feeling of self that makes learning possible. The All-Day Neighborhood Schools have made a particular contribution in this direction.

Group teachers receive special orientation and continuous in-service training to help them bridge the gap between home and school. And in their in-service training, class teachers study ways of modifying the curriculum to build up a background and give children a feeling of success.

Significant here is the opportunity for the teachers to share their burdens

and to exchange experiences. The group teachers' relationships with the child during the day and after school bring about changes in the child's attitudes, which are shown in his classroom behavior, and which in turn have an effect on the classroom teacher as well. This effect was expressed by one of the principals as follows:

"Because the afterschool club program necessitates the acceptance by the teachers of these underprivileged children with all their problems, the All-Day Neighborhood School teachers carry over this acceptance into their classroom work with the children and to the teachers of the cooperating classes."

The afterschool groups, still called "clubs" by the children, are the most obvious service to parents. The practice of having these children meet each day with the same leader has proved popular with the children, perhaps because of the sense of security it gives them. There are waiting lists for all the "clubs." In one of our schools, where the population has temporarily been cut in half because a housing project is being constructed, the clubs are still oversubscribed. So great has been the need to serve more children that additional groups have been formed with money secured by citizens for All-Day Neighborhood Schools. The Division of Community Education has also cooperated by furnishing additional leaders from 3 to 5 P.M.

### Significance of Citizen Participation

Parent and citizen committees continue to develop as an important phase of the program. As our knowledge of the neighborhood grows, we become aware of its many residents—storekeepers, professional people, and

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housewives—who show a sincere interest in improving the community. The committees serve many functions: they bring volunteer helpers into the school; they publicize the program of the All-Day Neighborhood Schools locally; they raise money for additional supplies and for summer school programs. They work with other community organizations to meet the neighborhood needs, supporting such projects as rent clinics, public housing, extension of public library service, clean-up campaigns, health examinations, and so on.

In addition, a city-wide committee has been formed which cooperates actively with the Board of Education in promoting the growth and development of the All-Day Neighborhood Schools.<sup>9</sup> It raises funds to publicize the program, and has helped increase citizen, parent, and community interest in the new schools as they are added. The committee has organized a special council at which representatives of the local citizens committees and two members of the Board of the city-wide organization meet monthly with the committee's president. Here they discuss mutual problems, exchange experiences, and make recommendations to the city-wide group.

The importance of these citizens' committees cannot be underestimated. In a recent article, Dr. John M. Martin stated that the most efficacious approach for modifying behavior is through community-centered programs supported by continued improvements of the collective welfare. He pointed out that public and private delinquency prevention agencies have spent comparatively little money or

energy on such community-centered programs and stated: "The essence of this approach to social reorganization . . . is to stimulate social change in delinquency-prone neighborhoods."<sup>10</sup> According to Dr. Martin's findings, current community organizations are made up of professional social workers and middle-class laymen. Seldom, if ever, are the people for which programs are being planned part of these organizations.

In fact, as far back as 1936, Professor Frederic M. Thrasher indicated that any attempt to prevent delinquency in local areas must fix responsibility for social change at the neighborhood level, where such changes can be implemented by local community leaders assisted by experts.

Through the years, local citizen groups have shown the validity of these statements. At the same time, it is through this kind of citizen interest that the neighborhood becomes aware of the needs and problems of the school.

In an article on minority group and class status, Dr. Martin Deutsch wrote: "If the school is to be the comprehensive socializing institution, the all-day school program should be expanded, as it is one of the most successful current attempts to increase the influence of the school and to develop constructive behavioral alternatives for the children."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Dr. Deutsch continues, "Although it could not be accurately quantified, the observers had the distinct impression

<sup>9</sup>John M. Martin, "Three Approaches to Delinquency Prevention: A Critique," *CRIME AND DELINQUENCY*, Jan., 1961, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup>Dr. Martin Deutsch, "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement," *Monograph No. 2*, The Society of Applied Anthropology, 1960.

<sup>8</sup>The committee recently became a sub-committee of the Public Education Association.

that children in the experimental group who participated in the all-day school program reflected in their conversation and behavior wider experience, broader knowledge, and more curiosity than did others in the experimental school. This program did give the children the opportunity for creative expression and organized play under competent supervision by people who understand their needs."<sup>12</sup>

These opinions are corroborated by Professor MacIver in his conclusions and recommendations for the Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project. He stated:

ADNS has developed a multi-pronged approach directed toward reducing the symptoms of maladjustment characteristic of a significant proportion of the children in the Special Service Schools. The co-operating classes and clubs provide en-

riched curriculum and varied activities, the BCG workers offer emotional and social direction, the school-community coordinators stimulate and direct parent and citizen interest, while the citizens' committees attempt to marshal the neighborhood forces to reinforce the efforts of the schools.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to recommending an extension of the program, Dr. MacIver asks for a continuous evaluation of all its aspects. A study of the methods used in both the group work and the afterschool programs and in the work with citizens and the community would help to define the school's role in preventing and controlling delinquency and would also be of great value to other schools in New York and other cities that wish to adopt the program.

<sup>12</sup> *Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project—Interim Report No. XIII*, "The All-Day Neighborhood Schools," Dec., 1959, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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# Developments in Correction—1960

## Part II\*

HOWARD B. GILL

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## Administration and Program

ADVANCES in administration and program seem to "just grow"—hit or miss. This does not mean that many excellent accomplishments have not been made or that promising projects have not been launched. Those presented here certainly denote progress; but, except for the subsequent influence on correctional programs by New Jersey's classification system (developed nearly thirty-five years ago), advance in correction has not followed any recognizable pattern.

Juvenile court service was improved in 1960. Probation and parole got a lift here and there. Several states began to recognize the advantages of centralized, professional leadership. A new classification division was organized and new day schools for prisoners built. However, these were not strictly new developments but rather attempts to catch up with the times.

The latest and perhaps most significant developments in programming are concerned with three things: psychiatric and psychological services for treating offenders; prerelease centers (although preparing prisoners for re-

lease is as old as parole); and the increasing reliance of prison administrators on volunteer citizen help to supplement their own personnel.

On the whole, correction in America has progressed from a "machine-gun penology," under which security was the entirety of every prison program, to a penology which uses another kind of ammunition—security, work, vocational and academic training, medical care, family welfare, athletics, hobbies, and entertainment—all in the hope that, through these "programs" of rehabilitation, *something* may rub off on convicted criminals. And something undoubtedly does rub off. However, this "shotgun penology" has not proved very effective. It is too overloaded to justify the expenses of time, energy, and personnel needed to maintain it. Perhaps someday a more effective type, more precise and realistic, will be developed; it will be a penology that relies on problem-solving rather than on programs. It will seek to acculturate the offender to the society to which he will return, instead of imposing on him a bizarre program of "rehabilitation" that has little or nothing to do with reducing his particular criminal tendency.

\* Part I, covering the 1960 revision of the Declaration of Principles, prison construction, and personnel, appeared in the April, 1961, issue of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY.



### Statewide Departments of Correction

During 1960, two states reorganized their correctional systems and a plan for a statewide system was promoted in a third state:

Minnesota brought together, under a single Department of Corrections headed by Will C. Turnbladh, all its services—including institutions, camps, and probation and parole—for delinquent children and youthful offenders. They had previously existed in three separate state departments. The Pardon Board's jail inspection and secretarial services were also transferred to the Department.

Colorado has also made provision through its legislature for a new Department of Correction, thus doing away with several previously active boards. Still undecided, however, is the selection of a director. A statewide juvenile parole department was also put into operation during 1960.

A single correctional department for adult and juvenile institutions was advocated by the Montana Council on Corrections, a Citizen Action Program committee of NCCD.

### Connecticut

*County Government Abolished.*—In one of the boldest moves affecting correction, Connecticut abolished county government, which, although politically powerful, has long been an anachronism in both law enforcement and correction. Describing county sheriffs as "political birds of passage," the late Bruce Smith, internationally known for his police surveys, went on to say that an "elected law enforcement officer" is a thing of the past. The point need not be further emphasized; the county jail is a well-established disgrace. Former federal warden Harold Hegstrom has been appointed to administer the jail sys-

tem; what happens now to Connecticut county jails may set the pace for other states.

### Alabama

*Juvenile Court.*—A state commission on juvenile court legislation is considering replacing the present county juvenile court system with juvenile and family courts on the circuit court level. Four such circuit courts are now in operation; extension would raise the standards of such courts by placing part of the financial responsibility on the state. The commission will also consider the possibility of a statewide juvenile probation service as well as other problems relating to the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency.

*Parole System.*—The legislature increased the Board of Pardons and Paroles appropriation by \$200,000. Of this, \$100,000 became available last October, enabling the Board to employ eleven additional professional personnel.

### Tennessee

*Statewide Probation and Aftercare for Juveniles.*—First authorized in 1957, Tennessee's Division of Juvenile Probation did not fully operate until July, 1959. On that date, ninety-one of Tennessee's ninety-five counties were eligible to receive services from the newly created division, which provides professional probation supervision to children and aftercare services to the four state vocational training schools.

### Maine

*Community Work for Prisoners.*—The legislature passed a bill under which the prison, in cooperation with other state agencies, may permit inmates to work outside the institution. As a result, prison crews are helping to develop a state park in the vicinity of the prison.

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### South Carolina

*Restitution for Vandalism.*—In Spartanburg, the Children's Court adopted a policy of ordering full restitution in all cases of vandalism. Wherever a child is old enough to earn the restitution money, he does so. Otherwise, parents must make restitution and have their child reimburse them in some way.

*Debtor-Creditor Relations.*—In Greenville, the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court employed an effective means of dealing with debtor-creditor cases. In order to preserve the family and keep it from becoming a public liability, the court arranges to receive all the earnings of the family, allows the family a reasonable amount for its support, distributes any excess to creditors according to a schedule of claim priorities, and enjoins all creditors from interfering with the family.

### Massachusetts

*School Counselors.*—The Division of Youth Service has added five new adjustment counselors to local school systems. Grants-in-aid were extended to Boston and Cambridge for delinquency prevention.

*Regional Detention Centers.*—Massachusetts has also supplemented its statewide regional detention program for juvenile delinquents with two small centers for the use of courts and parole departments in the central and western parts of the state. Like the larger ones in Boston, these regional centers will provide pre-adjudication studies and custodial services. Additional detention centers are planned for northeastern and southeastern Massachusetts.

The first forestry camp of the Division of Youth Service was established at Cape Cod.

*Medical Therapeutic Facility.*—After generations as a purely custodial

prison, the correctional institution at Bridgewater has recently been officially designated a "medically therapeutic facility" for the criminally insane, the defective delinquent, the alcoholic, and the sexually dangerous offender. For the first time, there will be a complete staff of full-time psychiatrists. The group counseling program has been expanded and occupational therapy inaugurated for all inmates. Regular staff conferences are held with them while recreational and avocational activities have been added to the usual industrial and maintenance programs.

Renovations in some of the buildings have been made for a special treatment center for the sexually dangerous.

*Apprenticeship Training.*—With the cooperation of the State Department of Labor and Industries, the Norfolk prison has expanded its apprenticeship training program. Prisoners are taught furniture upholstery, sheet metal and electrical work, baking, painting, and carpentry so that they are able to find work upon release.

At the Walpole prison, new vocational training courses in masonry and building have been introduced. Through the cooperation of the Speedwriting Institute of New York, women inmates at the Framingham prison can study speedwriting.

*Parole Service.*—Recent additions to the parole staff have reduced the average caseload to seventy. The Department of Mental Health has appointed a psychiatrist to the Parole Board who will evaluate and treat special problem cases.

*State Supervisor of Correctional Recreation.*—The appointment of a Supervisor of Recreation has enabled the Department of Correction to expand and improve its recreational programs in all state prisons.

### California

*Family Counseling Service.*—The California Department of Corrections has initiated a pilot demonstration Family Counseling Service project which will bring institutional and professional personnel together with members of the inmates' families to learn how they may mutually help rehabilitate the inmate.

*Trade Advisory Committee.*—A Trade Advisory Committee has been set up in the Department of Corrections as a resource of expert advice on the most advantageous, economical methods for the vocational training of inmates. Last year, over 500 labor and management leaders met regularly with institutional and parole personnel to give guidance to hundreds of inmates and parolees.

### District of Columbia

*Psychological Services for Recidivists.*—The Department of Correction has, at its Reformatory Division, a new Psychological Services Center, which studies and provides treatment for the chronic offender (a person convicted of two or more felonies). Its staff consists of a graduate clinical psychologist and his two assistants, two psychiatric social workers, a sociologist, and a social worker. Each offender accepted for treatment is given both individual and group therapy. Case reports are provided by the Board of Parole; the supervision caseload is planned for a maximum of twenty parolees. Sixty-five prisoners have been included in the program, but only one has been paroled so far.

*Employment for Probationers and Parolees.*—A new cooperative Employment Council Unit services the U.S. District Court, the D.C. Municipal Court Probation Department, and the D.C. Board of Parole. The unit—three counselors and a clerk—works with

the probation board and its officers in securing employment for probationers, parolees, and good-time releasees. During its first six months of operation, 585 persons were referred to the unit; 206 placements were made.

### Pennsylvania

*Psychiatry at Eastern Penitentiary.*—The Medical Center and the School of Law at Temple University, in cooperation with Eastern Penitentiary, established a unique program of group psychotherapy and short-term psychiatric treatment services at the prison for twelve hours a week.

### Michigan

*Passes and Furloughs for Young Offenders.*—Having had considerable success with passes and furloughs in the probation camp, Michigan set up a similar program in one of the correction-conservation camps for young offenders. So far, the new program has proved successful.

A home placement program for parolees has been established in one of the large urban areas.

### Missouri

*New Division of Classification.*—The Division of Classification and Assignment began operating its new Reception-Diagnostic Center at Jefferson City last January. The Center is staffed with a director, a clinical psychologist, four correctional caseworkers, and three clerical personnel. All convicted male offenders are committed by the courts to the Department of Correction and are received and assigned at the Center.

*Honor Dormitory for Long-termers.*—A new honor dormitory at Jefferson City's state prison has been established for long-term prisoners who have excellent work and conduct records but require maximum custody. They have special recreation privileges and are largely self-governing.

The state prison also instituted day and night educational classes, with courses accredited by the State Department of Education. The Division of Inmate Education employs a staff of sixteen full-time and eleven part-time civilian teachers, and the prison library has been moved to larger and more centrally located quarters. A hobby shop has been set up in the old library location. Movies are shown nightly.

**Pre-Release Unit.**—A Separation Unit with a capacity of sixty is functioning in a building formerly used by the Women's Prison outside the wall of the State Prison. Eighty men will eventually occupy the unit, which is reserved for those released without parole. St. Louis and Kansas City police departments have cooperated in finding homes and jobs for such releasees.

#### Minnesota

**Probation Services.**—Legislation enacted in 1959 made it mandatory for all juvenile courts to have probation services by 1960. The services are provided either through the Division of Youth Conservation of the Department of Corrections or through a subsidy plan administered by the Department. Two or more counties may join in employing a full-time probation officer. All eighty-seven county juvenile courts now have probation services, compared with only twenty-seven prior to this legislation—accomplishment of a goal set by Luther Youngdahl when he was governor several years ago.

#### Wisconsin

**Group Foster Homes.**—Group foster home placement, initiated in 1955, grew in 1960 from twelve licensed group homes caring for sixty-six delinquent children to nineteen with a total capacity for ninety-eight chil-

dren. Community and agency acceptance of the program were brought about by the encouraging and sometimes phenomenal changes in the children's behavior patterns.

**Prison Industries Centralized.**—The Division of Corrections has established a new section called Corrections Industries, which centralizes management of the entire industries program. The new unit was created because of an increase in the number of prisons having industrial activities.

**Treatment for Female Misdemeanants.**—Adult female misdemeanants serving a maximum sentence of six months or more in a county jail will be transferred to the state-operated Wisconsin Home for Women. Instead of serving their sentences in virtual idleness, such women may now take advantage of available treatment and training opportunities.

#### Ohio

**Better Parole Service.**—As a result of a two-year campaign, Ohio has added at least fifteen new officers to its field parole staff and increased the Pardon and Parole Commission from three to five members. Hence, each case coming up for parole is given longer and more careful consideration; in the field, some caseloads have been reduced and more intensive supervision has been made possible.

**Psychiatric Services.**—A supervising psychiatrist was added to the staff of the Division of Correction and a Psychiatric Treatment Committee, consisting of four psychiatrists, was formed to assist the Division in its mental health work.

**Professional Progress for Women Prisoners.**—At the Ohio Reformatory for Women, a formal program of education for the inmates was inaugurated, and a professional classification unit was established to assist in their

treatment with full-time professional direction for the first time in the reformatory's history.

*Alcoholics Anonymous.* — During 1960, each of the adult institutions including the Reformatory set up an Alcoholics Anonymous program as part of its treatment services.

#### Washington

Typical of the advance being made in several Western states is that of Washington under the direction of Garrett Heyns.

In adult and juvenile parole, increased appropriations have made possible additional personnel. With another \$25,000 appropriation, the director of institutions may now subsidize probation services in counties where they are nonexistent or inadequate. This is a pilot program to demonstrate to county officers the need of providing such services themselves.

A move to centralize all prison farm and dairy activities is under way with a revolving fund of \$300,000. Another fund of \$317,000 will support a prison industry program and thus obviate the necessity for biannual appropriations. It has been reported that the problem of idleness in adult institutions has "practically been solved."

*Western Interstate Corrections Compact.*—Washington has joined Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming in a Western Interstate Corrections Compact, which was drawn up by a committee of governors from those states to facilitate joint efforts in institutional construction. At present, interest is centered in a cooperative effort to provide care for women and defective delinquents.

#### Citizen Participation

The seed planted by the Pennsylvania Prison Association in 1787, car-

ried on continuously by that organization for over 170 years, and renewed in Massachusetts in the 1930's through "Friends of Norfolk" and "Friends of Framingham," has spread throughout the United States. While some prison administrators reject the idea of lay participation, a great many prison workers welcome this supplement to their professional and technical staffs. There can be no doubt that, on the whole, such citizen participation enriches the correctional program and, by bringing the community into the prison, helps acculturate prisoners to the normal society to which they must return.

Today, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency is conducting the most ambitious program in this area, which will be more fully described below under "Research."

More closely related here are the programs carried on by many institutions cooperating with private citizens. A bulletin issued by the United Prison Association of Massachusetts describes the activities in about twenty-five prisons,<sup>1</sup> ranging all the way from friendly visiting, Dale Carnegie courses, meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous, and voluntary religious counseling to professional medical and surgical care and ambitious employment programs on the part of management and labor.

Characteristic, too, of citizen participation was the cooperative effort in February, 1960, of the Connecticut Prison Association and the State Prison Administration to enlist representative citizens in planning prerelease training and aftercare programs. Representatives of more than twenty-five public and private organizations were

<sup>1</sup> *What's New in Citizen Participation in Correctional Programs?* Boston, United Prison Association of Massachusetts, Aug., 1960.

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invited to participate in planning a program involving education, occupational training, employment services, group and individual counseling, family casework, community contacts, lay advisors and sponsors, supervision after release, and religious counseling.

The program was begun with the opening of the Osborn Division of the state prison in July, 1960.

Michigan reported increased emphasis on citizen participation in group counseling activities, particularly for youthful offenders.

## Research

For years, research was conducted by white-jacketed students in laboratories or by bespectacled professors in ivory towers. Then, Kurt Lewin introduced Action Research in the field of youthful behavior at both the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Michigan, and thus began a whole new concept of correctional research.

Today, the three main types of research are operational, laboratory, and statistical.

### OPERATIONAL RESEARCH

Operational research, or research in action, may be of two kinds: *exploratory* or *evaluative*. The first seeks to solve a problem by random observations, hunches, systematic observations, working hypotheses, and trial-and-error projects—all aimed at developing a hypothesis; the second seeks to prove or disprove the hypothesis that has grown up out of a controlled experiment.

### LABORATORY RESEARCH

A second type of research, which may be either exploratory or evaluative, is laboratory research. From it have come the science of criminalistics, crime laboratory techniques, and psychological and other clinical tests proving so valuable to twentieth century correction.

### STATISTICAL RESEARCH

In vogue for a long time, statistical research simply starts with a hypothesis or an assumption and then discovers whether it correlates with past statistical studies or records. In this type of research, degree of recidivism is often used as the criterion of success for any correctional program; and so base expectancy analyses are developed which differentiate offenders given "average treatment" according to risk. Thus, a false assumption regarding recidivism is accepted and the assumption of "average treatment" as being "fixed" leaves the correctional process in a perpetual rut.

More than anything else, this preoccupation with prediction has kept criminological research on an academic level and blocked out more useful operational research. Unfortunately, despite the number of impressive statistical studies published, most of them have produced results of little operational value.

The following survey will cover only some of the more important projects being undertaken in these three areas of research.

### Citizens Committee on Crime and Delinquency

The most ambitious research project of an exploratory nature now be-

ing undertaken is that of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in the field of citizen participation. This project, which has many nationwide ramifications, has been made possible by generous grants from the Ford Foundation. Originally launched in 1955 with an initial grant of \$600,000 to the then National Probation and Parole Association, the project developed Citizen Action Program committees in Michigan, Washington, Montana, Texas, Oklahoma, Ohio, West Virginia, and Indiana. An additional grant of \$1,095,000, announced in September, 1959, was made to enable NCCD to extend citizen action programs for the next five years to a large number of additional states requesting them. With legislation, better planning and services, and the raising of administrative standards should come an improved means of preventing and treating youthful delinquency.

In three states—Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio—it is reported that at least \$22,000,000 in annual operation costs would be saved by 1970 if the NCCD citizen committee recommendations were to go into effect in the next ten years.

#### **"Halfway House" in Delaware**

In Wilmington, significant exploratory research in "Team Treatment Aftercare in a Community Hostel" was made possible in 1959 through a three-year National Institute of Mental Health grant. The basic hypothesis is that "a man needs some support while he is readjusting to free society" and that this support "can best be given by professionally supervised residential programs for a short period after release." It found expression through establishment of a "halfway house" for men released from Delaware's prisons.

Robert G. Crosswhite, executive director of the Prisoners' Aid Society of Delaware, and Maurice A. Breslin, the project's program director, made a survey of various aftercare projects now under way in the United States and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Special mention was made of four projects similar to the Delaware Halfway House—St. Leonard's House, in Chicago; Crenshaw House, in Los Angeles; the YMCA Project, in New York; and St. Dismas House, in St. Louis.

Such establishments for released prisoners are not new. The Volunteers of America, under the leadership of Maud Ballington Booth, set up a "Hope Hall" in many cities during the early part of this century. Many Prisoners' Aid societies also maintained facilities where released prisoners found shelter, advice, and aid. Both the Volunteers of America and the Prisoners' Aid ultimately abandoned these group projects in favor of helping individual prisoners. Whether the Delaware project, and the others, will avoid the pitfalls of the old "Hope Halls" and present something more permanent remains to be seen.

#### **Evaluating Federal Correction**

The University of Illinois is trying to determine which elements of the programs currently operated by the Federal Bureau of Prisons contribute to postrelease success or failure. Its work is made possible by a \$242,000 Ford Foundation grant for a four-year project through 1962.

As part of its project, the University is studying the programs of Leavenworth, Terre Haute, Milan, Chilli-cothe, and Ashland, and of five federal probation and parole areas in the

<sup>2</sup>"Aftercare Homes and the Intermediate Plan," *Proceedings, Ninetieth Annual Congress, American Correctional Association.*

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#### **Research**

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Midwest, and it will evaluate, by means of interviews with prisoners and parolees, the success of those programs.

Another part of this research will observe how a group of inmates progresses through imprisonment and parole; still another will statistically analyze the records of released inmates. It is hoped that, through this analysis, an optimum release date for a given type of inmate in a given correctional program can be arrived at. A fourth study will consist of observations on experimentation which may be suggested by the earlier analysis.

#### Research and Information Centers

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund granted the NCCD \$41,900 for ten months for a National Research and Information Center on Crime and Delinquency, a central clearing house.<sup>3</sup>

The University of Pennsylvania has for many years operated a somewhat similar center under the direction of Thorsten Sellin. A criminological information center has long been advocated by Albert Morris, of Boston University, currently editor for the United Prison Association of Massachusetts, which publishes many valuable pamphlets on correctional research.

#### Illinois

##### *Delinquency Prevention in Chicago.*

—The Chicago Boys Clubs received a Ford Foundation grant of \$875,000 for a six-year delinquency prevention program in three deprived Chicago neighborhoods. To measure the program's effectiveness, an additional grant of \$350,000 was made to the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Other Ford

Foundation grants for delinquency research totaled over \$700,000.

#### California

Perhaps the most ambitious research program is that undertaken by the California Department of Corrections. Over 100 staff members of various California correctional agencies are engaged in full-time or part-time research under the direction of J. Douglas Grant. In addition, a private agency known as the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency was established at Berkeley, with Richard E. McGee, Director of the Department of Corrections, as president; Heman G. Stark, Director of the Youth Authority, as vice-president; and J. Douglas Grant as secretary. The Institute will do that research which cannot be taken on by public agencies. Its first project: an international survey of correctional practice, financed by a \$105,000 Ford Foundation grant.

The California Division of Research deals with five special areas: (1) Information about inmate population by which to assess the treatment program and derive a rate of "base expectancies" (the probability of parole success or failure). (2) The "Intensive Treatment" program, at San Quentin and Chino, which uses both individual casework and group counseling techniques. (3) The "Therapeutic Community" at the Pilot Rock Forestry Camp and in two groups at Chino, where community and small group meetings, group work units, and individual counseling are used to develop interpersonal relationships. (4) A study of parole supervision by varying the size of the caseload and type of supervision. Several different criteria for measuring the results of this study have already been

<sup>3</sup> Further development of the center was assured by a \$363,000 grant from the National Institute of Mental Health last spring. (See NCCD News, May, 1961, p. 1.)

obtained. (5) Treatment of narcotic addicts.

These are only samples of many more activities, both operational and statistical, conducted by the California Department of Corrections. According to J. Douglas Grant: "The agency's ultimate criterion of efficiency is not stated in terms of punishment or cures. It is stated in terms of how much antisocial behavior can be reduced at how much expense to the taxpayer. This criterion is combined with the costs of time and confinement, specific programs, and returns to the institution. It takes into account the kinds of new offenses occurring upon release to the community. Further, it is concerned with difficulties in maintaining institutions and institutional management."

#### Massachusetts

*Director of Research.*—The appointment of a director of psychological research and a sociologist as research assistant in the Department of Correction has resulted in an expanded program. Several projects have been initiated and completed by outside medical agencies.

The staff of the Correctional Institution at Concord is making a study comparing the recidivism rates of those inmates who responded to academic and vocational training with the rates of an equal number who did not.

Supported by a \$50,000 grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, the Massachusetts Parole Division is cooperating with Tufts University in a three-year study of pre-adolescent delinquency behavior.

#### Connecticut

Staff members of Connecticut College are doing research on committed women.

The Long Lane School for Girls and Wesleyan University have made a study of "self-esteem" and have come up with information helpful in preparing the delinquent child for his return to the community.

The Connecticut Prison Association reported on a pilot project dealing with continuance of psychiatric treatment of a limited number of ex-prisoners who are undergoing treatment at the time of their release.

#### Rhode Island

*Juvenile Delinquents.*—An interesting undertaking in exploratory operational research was launched late in 1959 with a federal grant of \$75,000. Eight girls and eight boys were carefully selected from two training schools to receive group psychotherapy, with the unique feature of bringing their parents into the plan and continuing the treatment after the youngsters are released.

#### District of Columbia

*Institute of Criminological Research.*—The Department of Correction's Institute of Criminological Research encourages studies by its personnel, and co-sponsors studies by students attending American University, Catholic University of America, George Washington University, Georgetown University, Howard University, and the University of Maryland. To insure objectivity, an advisory council of sixteen leading criminologists, teachers, and administrators supervises the projects. To date, fifteen projects have been completed and nine more are under way. An example of the projects is a study, by George Washington University's School of Government, of nonprofessional counseling in U. S. prisons. Unfortunately, no means has yet been found to publish the conclusions of the studies.

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### Inmates Aid Medical Research

From all over the nation come reports of prison inmates who are volunteering their services for many kinds of medical research in the interest of public health.

### Conclusions

The combination of operational and research personnel is a welcome one. Too often those who are competent in research are woefully ignorant of operational problems and needs, and those competent in the operational field are utterly untrained in methods of research. The professional researchers prevail in academic studies because they are more articulate; but their work is ignored by operational personnel because it is either misunderstood or not applicable.

Correction could stand a moratorium on those studies seeking a quick and easy method of prediction in order to avoid the risk of possible failure. Screening tests and prediction tables are poor substitutes for the courage of exploration and new discovery. Already a Council for Creative Research has been established at the University of Colorado and some preliminary reports have been made on sociological factors in delinquency.

To restrict operational research to evaluation studies, to dismiss "hunch," "intuition," and "experience" as "euphemisms for bias, ignorance, and obstinacy,"<sup>4</sup> or to assert a monopoly of objective findings by only certain kinds of quantitative research is to blind oneself to an area of professional activity which can supply rich

scientific resources. Such a limited point of view fails to recognize that research often begins with a problem and not with a hypothesis; that "brainstorming" is just another name for "hunch"; that random observations are the foundation of inductive reasoning; and that trial and error are the warp and woof of experience. These, too, can be recorded, classified, and analyzed, compared and tested, interpreted and used as the basis for clinical prediction. They are just as scientific as evaluations—and far more creative and productive. Chi-squares and correlations are all right in their place; but they can never replace the spirit and the vitality essential for finding new intellectual frontiers.

What is sorely needed in correctional research today is as much emphasis on *search* as on the *re* (the "back" look). What is needed is more of the dynamic pioneering of Norfolk Island, Norfolk, Eng., and Norfolk, Mass.; of Highfields, Warwick, and the Judge Baker Foundation; of John Howard, Thomas Beevor, and Alexander Maconochie; of Elam Lynds, John Haviland, Louis and Theodore Dwight, Enoch Wines, Franklin B. Sanborn, and Zebulon Brockway; of Thomas Mott Osborne, Austin McCormick, Mary Harris, Kenyon Scudder, Norman Fenton, and Reed Cozart; of Aichhorn, Sturup, Maxwell Jones, Fritz Redl, Krebs, Luria, Moreno, and Thornberry. These projects and men represent operational research of the highest order. And their results were achieved mainly through "hunch," "intuition," and "experience." For as Truman Kelly, a truly great statistician, has pointed out, "In markings near about we discern the contour of the land and glimpse the portal of the future."

<sup>4</sup>Heman G. Stark, "The Prospect for Correction," *CRIME AND DELINQUENCY*, Oct., 1960, p. 340.



# NCCD Field Services

MILTON G. RECTOR

*Director, National Council on Crime and Delinquency*

**F**OR NCCD 1960 was an exciting year. Citizen and correctional leadership in many states and municipalities made marked progress in dealing with the delinquency and crime problem. We admit to considerable pride in stating that NCCD's field services contributed to this progress.

In 1960 St. Louis reported that delinquency cases in the juvenile court had not risen in three previous years and attributed the condition to improved court, probation, and police juvenile services following an NCCD survey.

Indiana and Ohio reports indicated substantial accomplishments. In Ohio delinquency referrals to the juvenile courts decreased 5.9 per cent and commitments to training schools decreased 11 per cent. In Indiana, where adult probation had previously been used in only 22 per cent of the cases, commitments to state institutions went down by 1,200 in one year. Strengthened court services and changes in sentencing practices advocated by NCCD Citizen Action Program committees in these states can be credited, in large part, with these important forward steps.

In 1960 the Women's Division (900,000 strong) of the Presbyterian Church voted to direct its attention to the delinquency problem. It is planning a three-year country-wide study and action program with the help of NCCD

headquarters and field staff and other interested national agencies.

NCCD greatly strengthened its information service with the launching of its National Research and Information Center. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund provided funds for its organization and the National Institute of Mental Health has allocated funds for its operation for the next four years. An acute national need of the field for a comprehensive central clearing house of research and information has finally been met.

The Saginaw Probation Demonstration Project terminated. Preliminary findings indicate that the use of probation was increased to 69 per cent of convictions, the number of commitments was cut in half, and the probation violation rate also was halved.

## Citizen Action

From 1955 to 1959 NCCD, with help from the Ford Foundation, demonstrated in eight states<sup>1</sup> that top level citizen committees working with professionals could, with dispatch, greatly improve a state's striking power for the prevention and control of delinquency and crime. The success of this pilot Citizen Action Program<sup>2</sup> was so dramatic that the Ford Foundation made a second grant to permit NCCD

<sup>1</sup> Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas, Washington, West Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> See NPPA News, Jan., March, May, Sept., Nov., 1959.

to bring the program to additional states.

Progress in the original eight states continues at the same pace as in the demonstration period. The program has been launched in three new states (Georgia, Massachusetts, and Oregon) with additional kick-offs scheduled for California, New Mexico, and New York in the fall. Other states actively in the process of organization are Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, and Pennsylvania.

### Surveys

Surveys, NCCD's most tangible service to the cities and states, are the most time-consuming of the Council's field activities. They also comprise one of the Council's most productive functions. This is true whether the study is made for a city or state or for one of NCCD's state Citizen Action Program committees.

Sixteen surveys were completed in 1960. These ranged from statewide studies, such as an analysis of institutional populations in Indiana and a statewide system of family courts and detention in Louisiana, to an intensive study of a local court or detention program. Fourteen of the following surveys examined juvenile programs; two dealt with youth and adult services:

- Duval County (Jacksonville), Fla.*—Juvenile Court, Detention, and Related Agencies
- Indiana*.—Adult Male Penal Institutional Population Evaluation
- Delaware County (Muncie), Ind.*—Detention Needs
- Vigo County (Terre Haute), Ind.*—Detention Needs
- Louisiana*.—Statewide System of Family Courts and Detention

*Kent County (Grand Rapids), Mich.*—Handling of Delinquency and Neglect

*Harrison County (Gulfport), Miss.*—Juvenile Court and Detention

*Clark County (Las Vegas), Nev.*—Juvenile Court, Probation, and Detention Services

*New Mexico*.—Institutions and Related Services for Delinquent Children

*Columbus, Ohio*.—Common Pleas and Municipal Court Services

*Licking County (Newark), Ohio*.—Detention Needs

*Mahoning County (Youngstown), Ohio*.—Juvenile Court, Juvenile Police Services, and Juvenile Detention Facilities

*Knox County (Knoxville), Tenn.*—Juvenile Court, Probation, and Detention

*Dallas County (Dallas), Texas*.—Juvenile Court and Probation Department

*Dallas County (Dallas), Texas*.—Dallas Juvenile Home

*Tom Green County (San Angelo), Texas*.—Juvenile Court, Detention, and Law Enforcement.

At the close of the year, six surveys were in process and five others were scheduled for an early start. One of the latter is a comprehensive study of Delaware's correctional program (juvenile and adult, local and state).

Action following surveys continues as it has in the past. A case in point is Youngstown, Ohio, where the juvenile court, police juvenile services, and juvenile detention were studied. The Greater Youngstown Community Chest and Health and Welfare Council and the survey committee have accepted full follow-up responsibility.

All major recommendations either have been adopted or are in the process of adoption. From another Ohio city (Hamilton) NCCD recently received a most heartening report from the United Fund director, who stated that every recommendation made by NCCD in a 1952 survey has been put into effect.

### Field Consultation

In 1960, NCCD staff made 398 visits to 172 cities in 39 states. These visits covered the entire range of NCCD's program. Assistance and advice were given on facilities and services for the prevention, control, and treatment of delinquency and crime. They included such areas as employment of parolees, youth employment and the school dropout problem, child protection, a research design for measuring the effects of group discussions with parents of delinquent children, a new detention home, recruitment and training of staff, legislation, an administrative study of a probation department, aid to a Health and Welfare Council in planning a training institute for police juvenile officers, and, in four states, helping to plan and participate in institutes for judges.

### Detention Services

Much staff time is given to on-the-spot help and information on juvenile and adult detention. NCCD's director of detention services participated in eight of the surveys listed above. In 1960, assistance was given by this division of NCCD to 115 cities in ten states and Canada. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Wisconsin were aided in planning regional detention facilities.

In addition, two cities received substantial help in planning new adult jail facilities.

NCCD is deeply concerned with a growing tendency to overuse detention as soon as a new facility is available. It is not unusual to find that, soon after a new detention home is opened, the number of children detained increases 100 to 200 per cent, and more. Yet, in jurisdictions where this occurs, there is no evidence to show that detaining a child who is not a danger to himself or the community is a more effective procedure than providing good casework while he awaits court disposition in the custody of his parents. The entire problem of controlling detention admissions must be studied much more intensively.

*Detention Practice—Significant Developments in the Detention of Children and Youth* appeared in 1960, and research was completed for the second edition of *Standards and Guides for the Detention of Children and Youth*.<sup>3</sup>

### Legal and Legislative

An important standard-setting service of NCCD is the publication of model acts as guides for legislators. Three new acts are in preparation—*A Model Sentencing Act*, *A Standard Act on Correctional Services* (in cooperation with the American Correctional Association), and *A Model Act for Annulment of a Conviction*.

Consultation on legislation was given to five states and Canada by NCCD's legal counsel.

The Advisory Council of Judges is preparing two major works: *Guides to Evidence and Procedure in the Juvenile Court* and *The Law of Criminal Correction*.

A three-year study by the Advisory Council of Judges on the nature and correctional handling of the youthful

<sup>3</sup> Published May 19, 1961.

offender (16-21 years of age) has reached its midpoint. It promises to be an eye opener. Preliminary findings like the following should give those interested in crime and delinquency problems some food for thought:

1. Probation is not nearly so widely used with youth as it could be. While reluctance to convict and commit is professed, the study of practice to date indicates a readiness to do so. Nearly one-half of the population of a progressive specialized institution for youth (17-23) had never been tried on probation prior to commitment. Figures from one state show that arrested young persons (over seventeen years of age) include a high percentage of true first offenders and that they have a low recidivism rate. The typical youthful offender may well prove to be a person who, contrary to popular belief, is not a failure of the juvenile courts and training schools.

2. Youth, per se, is a less important factor than the offense in sentencing, even when special court procedures are authorized by statute.

3. The rate of youth crime remains at a fairly steady rate. Criminal court figures for New York City in 1823 showed that 33 per cent of all crimes were "youth crimes." The rate for the period 1940-1956 ranged from 23 to 34 per cent. In 1960 the rate was 27.6 per cent.

The report of this study will go a long way toward illuminating a "never-never land" of correction.

### The Future

NCCD plans to assume a stronger leadership role in delinquency and crime prevention. We need and hope to get special staff to pull together the best correctional thinking and experience in the nation, to promulgate guides for community and agency action in prevention, and to extend our field consultation and study service as an aid to states and communities in organizing prevention programs.

To step up the attack on delinquency and crime by narrowing the gap between knowledge and practice, we must reach the general public. To do this, NCCD is developing a public education and information program as a major division of the Council. The resources of the mass media and dozens of volunteer service organizations are available to enhance our efforts as soon as we are ready to provide them with dramatic and interpretive material about crime and delinquency—what it is and what it isn't. Leaders in the field are available for speakers' bureaus as soon as we are ready to furnish them with materials and schedule engagements for them. NCCD now has a specialist developing a plan for this program.

The progress and expansion of NCCD services made in 1960 would have been unbelievable ten years ago, but it fell far short of the need. To borrow the language of Washington, D.C., a "crash program" for 1961 is essential if we are to get on top of the problem.

## Opinions of Trial Judges

**T**HE judicial opinions published below are the first contributions to what we hope will be a permanent department of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY. Opinions of trial judges in juvenile, family, and criminal courts often develop analyses of facts, and sometimes of legal situations, which have not been adequately covered in appellate court decisions. We plan to publish those trial court judges' opin-

ions that we think will be of value to the correctional field as well as to the judiciary, and we hope that such publication will stimulate trial judges to write opinions of this kind. (See Dudley F. Sicher, "Writing and Publishing Opinions in Children's and Family Courts," *Focus*, Jan., 1954, pp. 6-11.)

We invite submission of opinions for publication.—Ed.

### Delinquency Adjudication Not a Disqualification to Hold Public Office

*John Strong v. Stephen P. Kennedy*, Commissioner of the Police Department of the City of New York; Supreme Court of the State of New York, New York County, February 8, 1961.

HOFSTADTER, J.

The petitioner passed the examination for the position of patrolman in the Police Department. After appropriate investigation, he was certified by the Department of Personnel to the Police Department as eligible. The police commissioner, however, on three occasions on the same day considered the petitioner for appointment from among the three highest names on the eligible list and on each occasion passed over the petitioner in favor of another candidate. In this proceeding under Article 78 of the Civil Practice Act, the petitioner complains of such refusal to appoint him as arbitrary.

He is now twenty-eight years old. In 1945, when he was thirteen, he was

adjudicated a delinquent in the Children's Court of the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York. The nature of the delinquency does not appear. The petitioner complains that the sole ground for his rejection was such adjudication.

When submitted to an investigation by a police sergeant by direction of the commanding officer of the Police Academy, he was advised that, because of the delinquency adjudication, the respondent police commissioner would not consider him for appointment. After he had been notified of the refusal to appoint him, he requested a hearing on his eligibility. Despite a long-standing practice of the commissioner to grant informal hearings, upon request, in similar situations, his request for the usual hearing was denied. The reason given at Police Headquarters was the petitioner's adjudication as a delinquent when he was thirteen. None of the foregoing is denied.



Standing on his right, as head of his department, to select one of the three highest on the list (see *Matter of Delicati v. Schechter*, 3 A.D.2d 19), the commissioner has not revealed the basis for the rejection of the petitioner. Undoubtedly, he has a very broad discretion in making appointments to the Department, and when exercised within its proper sphere the Court may not impinge on it. Yet, broad as the discretion is, it is not unlimited; for, unlimited discretion is the equivalent of unbridled power, which is contrary to the spirit of our democracy. Arbitrary power, however well intentioned, is an anomaly in a free society. Accordingly, the applicable rule is that the police commissioner may not arbitrarily refuse to appoint an eligible candidate (*Matter of Hamilton v. Monaghan*, 285 App. Div. 692, affd. 1 N.Y.2d 877; *Matter of Maynard v. Monaghan*, 284 App. Div. 280, 283; *Matter of Embarrato v. Adams*, 2 A.D.2d 877, leave to appeal den. 3 A.D.2d 701. See also *Matter of Hamilton v. Brennan*, 203 Misc. 536; *Matter of Anonymous v. New York City Transit Authority*, 4 A.D.2d 953, affd. 7 N.Y.2d 769).

Section 84 of the Domestic Relations Court Act—"Adjudication not to serve as a disqualification"—provides:

No adjudication under the provisions of this act shall operate as a disqualification of any child subsequently to hold public office or as a forfeiture of any right or privilege or to receive any license granted by public authority; and no child shall be denominated a criminal by reason of such adjudication, nor shall such adjudication be denominated a conviction. Neither the fact that a child has been before the children's court for hearing, nor any confession, admission or statement made by him to the court or to any officer thereof while he is under the age

of sixteen years shall ever be admissible as evidence against him or his interest in any other court.

It is not held here that an adjudication of juvenile delinquency may never be taken into account in weighing the suitability for appointment of an individual. But we apply the term "juvenile delinquency" to a wide range of misdeeds. Our laws provide that a child may be declared delinquent not only for violation of state laws and municipal ordinances, but also for such general forms of misconduct as habitual disobedience, waywardness, and incorrigibility—conduct that would not be criminal in an adult. Discrimination must be made between misbehavior which is isolated and arises out of the high-spirited nature of youth and its inherent instability, and misconduct which is continuous and basic. This is especially important when the misdeed in question was committed by a child of tender years—in this instance, thirteen. For all too often our children reflect the violence of our age. The corruption of the elders has spawned the delinquency of the young. Youthful misconduct is but a symptom of the wider and deeper malaise of our society. Indeed, young people—bewildered, perplexed and bedeviled—are to be commended in that only a small number of them—estimated as low as 3 per cent—succumb to the deleterious influences that surround them. And even these youngsters are for the most part not vicious but, rather, vulnerable. Certainly the faltering of youth should not of itself irretrievably stigmatize the offender for all time. The mistocles reminds us that the wildest colts often make the best horses.

If the petitioner has been denied appointment, not because his adjudication in fact tends to discredit

him, but in pursuit of a settled policy to reject all candidates who have been adjudicated juvenile delinquents, regardless of every other factor, then the police commissioner will have undertaken to establish the very disqualification prohibited by the quoted statute. Self-evidently, such nullification of the law and flouting of the policy which it embodies must be condemned as arbitrary and therefore unlawful.

What is more, it is inadmissible and contrary to wholesome public policy. The underlying purpose of our laws relating to delinquency is protective, not punitive. The act establishing special statutory courts with jurisdiction over juveniles expressly provides that such young people are not to be treated as criminals but as children in need of "aid, encouragement and guidance" (Domestic Relations Court Act, Sec. 89). The police in this city have long recognized these general principles and have contributed to their effectuation by the praiseworthy efforts of their Juvenile Aid Bureau and the Police Athletic League. And the Court of Appeals, writing of proceedings in Children's Court, has flatly stated that "all suggestion and taint of criminality was intended to be and

has been done away with" (*People v. Lewis*, 260 N.Y. 171, 176).

To permit an adjudication of delinquency to operate as an automatic disqualification in later life would vitiate the entire philosophy behind special courts for children. If it is, in fact, one of our purposes to rehabilitate children in trouble—to offer them the "aid, encouragement and guidance" envisioned by the statute—we must take the responsibility for their integration into the community as useful citizens. It would be futile—and even cruel and inhuman—for the law, on one hand, to encourage the wrongdoer to mend his ways, and, on the other, to reject the reformed transgressor. Indeed, "joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance" (Luke, xv, 7). If the petitioner is indeed "the lost sheep which has been found," the community—and the Police Department—should welcome him back into society.

The matter is therefore remanded to the police commissioner for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

### Distrust of Confessions in Certain Situations

*In the Matter of Four Youths; The Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, April 7, 1961.*

KETCHAM, J.

In a trial by the Court four youths were charged with assaulting and attempting to rob a man on a Washington street about 11:00 P.M. one Saturday evening last summer. The assistant corporation counsel offered as evidence the testimony of police officers reporting on what they heard each

boy say while at the police precinct or police headquarters.

The facts as shown by the evidence admitted are these: On Sunday morning, May 8, 1960, after obtaining descriptions and details from the complainant and from a thirteen-year-old boy who had observed the incident, two precinct officers proceeded to the home of one suspect, informed him and his mother of the charges, and took him into custody. Shortly thereafter a second suspect was identified

on the street and the officers took him into custody, arriving at the precinct with both boys about noon. After confrontations, interrogation, and discussion at the police precinct, without parents, relatives, or counsel to guide them, both boys are alleged to have made certain oral admissions to the police officers.

The next morning, at an early hour, precinct police officers went individually to the homes of the two additional suspects, took them into custody, and transported them to Metropolitan Police Headquarters. Later that morning, although the complainant failed to identify either of these boys, the thirteen-year-old witness allegedly did identify them. In this setting it is claimed that these three boys also made certain oral statements to police officers at headquarters.

All four boys were then released by the police to their parents, complaints were filed at the Juvenile Court by the policemen, and each boy and his parents subsequently appeared at the Court as directed. When interviewed at the Juvenile Court, each of the four youths denied being involved in the assault and attempted robbery. The question arose at the trial of the case as to whether this court should accept as competent evidence the oral statements made to the police officers while at the precinct or at police headquarters.

The Court rejected this proffered evidence on the grounds that such testimony is hearsay and that the reason for the admission of such extrajudicial statements against interest in adult criminal trials (as a common exception to the rule against hearsay) is not equally applicable in juvenile court proceedings. In dealing with questions of evidence such as this, it is important to remember the underlying purpose of all legal proof—to

establish the truth.<sup>1</sup> The determination of truth should not degenerate into a complicated legal game, especially not in a juvenile court proceeding where the purpose of the action is noncriminal and nonpunitive.<sup>2</sup> In this case the Court is very much concerned with the establishment of the facts in order to lay a foundation for its corrective and rehabilitative procedures. Unless its decision is based on established facts, the entire basis for its disposition will fall like a house built upon quicksand.<sup>3</sup>

Whereas the disposition or punishment for adult criminal behavior upon a finding of guilt is prescribed within relatively narrow limits, no such rule binds the juvenile court in its dispositions. Instead, this court seeks to dispense individualized justice. Whatever may be the ultimate goals of a juvenile court in terms of the welfare of the child, the court has one fundamental responsibility to the child and to the community; that is, to instill in each juvenile that passes through the court a sense of fairness and a respect for our American concept of "equal justice under law." Such a respect for law enforcement can be founded only upon truth.

Simply stated, the Court's decision in this case rests upon the considered opinion—after nearly four busy years on the juvenile court bench, during which the testimony of thousands of such juveniles has been heard—that the statements of adolescents under

<sup>1</sup> "The hearsay rule is concerned only with reliability of evidence offered to prove a fact, whatever that fact might be, and operates to render inadmissible extrajudicial writings or declarations..." *Papadakis v. United States*, 208 F.2d 945.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pee et al. v. United States*, 107 U. S. App. D. C. 47, 274 F.2d 556 (1959).

<sup>3</sup> See *Guides for Juvenile Court Judges*, National Probation and Parole Association, 1957, pp. 58-61.

eighteen years of age who are arrested and charged with violations of law are frequently untrustworthy and often distort the truth. It is the Court's firm belief that such a decision is clearly within the sound discretion of a juvenile court judge.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, a similar position has been adopted by at least three state courts.<sup>5</sup>

In the circumstances which occurred here there were many reasons for

\*"Whether a confession is voluntary depends upon facts that surround it, and the judge's decision is final as to its competency except in those cases in which his finding of fact is plainly untenable." *United States v. Gottfried* (two cases), 165 F.2d 360, cert. denied 68 S. Ct. 738, 333 U. S. 860, 92 L. Ed. 1139, rehearing denied, 68 S. Ct. 910, 333 U. S. 883, 92 L. Ed. 1157.

\*1. Virginia.—Confession of a colored boy, approximately fifteen years of age, of normal physical development and mental age of eleven years, who was found by sanity commission to be sane and of sufficient intelligence to be responsible for his acts, was not admissible in prosecution for rape by reason of accused's immaturity and fear. *Johnson v. Commonwealth*, 35 S.E.2d 770, 184 Va. 466.

2. Oklahoma.—Ordinarily confessions of defendants seventeen or eighteen years of age accused of burglary are inadmissible in evidence when given in absence of parents or guardian or counsel, since such defendants should be deemed incapable of waiving constitutional and statutory safeguards provided by law in a criminal case, unless it appears beyond a reasonable doubt that such minor defendants fully understood effects and results growing out of waiver. *Olivera v. State*, 354 P.2d 792.

3. Alabama.—In a prosecution for larceny against an infant under sixteen, her confession to a deputy sheriff to whom she delivered the stolen article is inadmissible under Code 1907, Sec. 6464, as amended by acts 1915 P. 577, providing that the statements or confessions made by child under sixteen shall never be legal or competent evidence against the child, the section being part of the general scheme for the creation of juvenile courts for youthful offenders, wherein they are protected as wards of the state. *Felder v. State*, 85 So. 868, 17 Ala. App. 458.

the boys to give the answer or admission that was sought regardless of the truth, so that the questioning would cease and they could get home to their parents. Wigmore states that the principal reason for the inadmissibility of a confession is that, under certain conditions, it becomes untrustworthy as testimony:

The ground of distrust of confessions made in certain situations is, in a rough and indefinite way, judicial experience. There has been no careful collection of statistics of untrue confessions, nor has any great number of instances been even loosely reported, but enough have been verified to fortify the conclusion, based on ordinary observation of human conduct, that under certain stresses a person, especially one of defective mentality or peculiar temperament, may falsely acknowledge guilt. This possibility arises whenever the innocent person is placed in such a situation that the untrue acknowledgment of guilt is at the time the more promising of two alternatives between which he is obliged to choose; that is, he chooses any risk that may be in falsely acknowledging guilt, in preference to some worse alternative associated with silence....

The principle, then, upon which a confession may be excluded is that it is, under certain conditions, testimonially untrustworthy...; the essential feature is that the principle of exclusion is a testimonial one, analogous to the other principles which exclude narrations as untrustworthy....<sup>6</sup>

Consequently the Court decided in this trial to reject the offer of the

\* John Henry Wigmore, *Laws of Evidence*, 3rd ed., Sec. 822. See also the opinion of Loring, C.J., in *State v. Schabert*, 218 Minn. 1, 15 N.W.2d 585, 587: "From these decisions, we deduce the rule that unfairness in violation of due process exists when a confession is obtained by means of pressure exerted upon the accused under such circumstances that affect the testimonial trustworthiness of the confession."

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government to introduce, during the presentation of its case-in-chief, the statements of each of the four youths made to police officers after the boys were apprehended, taken into police custody, and interrogated at a police facility in detail about the alleged attack because it did not believe that such statements were testimonially trustworthy.

The British psychiatrist, Dr. William Sargent, in his recent analysis of the physiology and behavioral aspect of religious conversion, brain washing, psychotherapy, and other processes employed to change men's beliefs, notes that police interrogation techniques need not be based on terror or torture to result in erroneous, though perhaps entirely voluntary, confessions of guilt.<sup>7</sup> Fatigue, the anxiety aroused by the mere fact of accusation of crime, the tension inherent in the questioning itself, the personality instability of the suspect, all may contribute to a state of abnormal brain activity and unusually great suggestibility on the part of the person accused. The police, for their part, suspecting, if not initially convinced of, his guilt, may inadvertently, by the direction of their questioning, suggest to the person being examined the nature of his wrongdoing. Truth and falsehood having become hopelessly confused in his mind, it is with entire good faith that he later gives back what was originally implied or suggested by them.

Sargent points out that erroneous confessions are much more likely to occur when the examiner starts with very strong beliefs, which are then conveyed back to him in subsequent confessions. Thus, despite warnings to the person being interrogated concern-

ing the use to which his incriminating statement may be put, despite an absence of threats or punishments, despite the observance of fair play by the police at all times, the confession may well be a distortion of the truth or wholly erroneous. Needless to say, this is not the invariable result of police examination, or even the most usual consequence. But the danger that an impressionable adolescent may unconsciously succumb to the pressures of the interrogation situation must be reckoned with if justice is to be done.

Although counsel for the respondents sought to show that the statements against interest were not made voluntarily, the Court's decision does not rest on such a showing. The question of whether the statements were made voluntarily should not be the primary question in a juvenile hearing in the opinion of the Court; rather the central question which the Court must answer is whether the statements were true. For a suggestible youth, the authoritarian atmosphere of a police station is, in itself, accusatory and full of tensions and pressures not conducive to a frank, open, and unvarnished expression of opinion.<sup>8</sup> These statements, made to the police under such circumstances, could well have been motivated by many things besides a desire to tell the truth.<sup>9</sup>

\* "Facts and circumstances surrounding giving of a confession affect both its admissibility and its credibility." *Schaffer v. United States*, 221 F.2d 17.

<sup>9</sup> "These pressures may consist of threats or promises made to induce the giving of the confession. Or the inducement for the confession may lie in a desire to shield the person really guilty, or in the hope of escaping detection for a more serious offense. Then there is the more than ordinary possibility that the confession may be the expression of a demented personality. If any of these in-

<sup>7</sup> William Sargent, *Battle for the Mind*, New York, Doubleday, 1957, pp. 185-218.



Hence, none of the youth's oral statements was considered trustworthy enough to be admitted as evidence.

In this case defense counsel claimed that the alleged statements against interest were elicited by a combination of threats and inducements made by the police.<sup>10</sup> Such charges of misconduct in the interrogation of suspects—juvenile or adult—are easily made but often hard for the police to contradict. There was no competent evidence produced in this case to support such allegation. On the contrary, this Court has found that the procedures for police handling of juveniles in this jurisdiction, especially the procedures of the Youth Aid Division officers who are especially trained to work with juveniles, are commendable. Under the circumstances, the Court considered it unseemly that the police officer should be required to submit himself to a cross-examination which sought to attack his credibility and to impugn his motives.<sup>11</sup> If, however, the voluntariness of each juvenile's oral statement

fluences exist to the extent of making it appear that the confession is not a voluntary confession or not a statement of the true facts, it is not admissible in evidence." [Emphasis added.] *Bram v. United States*, 168 U.S. 532, 42 L. Ed. 568, 18 S. Ct. 183; *Ziang Sung Wan v. United States*, 266 U.S. 1, 69 L. Ed. 131, 45 S. Ct. 1.

<sup>10</sup> "In federal courts, requisite of voluntariness is not satisfied by establishing merely that confession was not induced by promise or threat and confession is voluntary in law if and only if it was in fact voluntarily made." *Crawford v. United States*, 219 F.2d 207, rehearing denied 220 F.2d 352.

<sup>11</sup> "In determining whether defendant's confession was free from threat or inducement, conduct of officer to whom it was made will be rigidly scrutinized, but trial court's conclusion on such issue cannot be reviewed by Supreme Court unless so manifestly erroneous as to show abuse of judicial discretion." *State v. Judge*, 38 S.E.2d 715, 208 S.C. 497.

had to be determined before the Court could receive it into evidence, such a procedure would have been necessary.<sup>12</sup> The Court's ruling in this case avoided such cross-examination of a police officer by rejecting the proffered extrajudicial statements—not because they were involuntarily elicited, but because, whether voluntary or not, in the opinion of the Court they gave little assurance of being true.

If these four juveniles had sincerely wished to make a clean breast of the matter, they could have done so to the police officer and subsequently admitted their involvement to the Court. This, in fact, is what does happen in the vast majority of juvenile cases. If the extrajudicial statements were true, the police could then have obtained corroborative evidence to support the charges. This was done in the case of two of the youths.

On the other hand, if the oral admissions made while in police custody are subsequently denied or contradicted by the juvenile when he is brought before the court, as in this case, such contradictions afford clear proof of the unreliability of the youth's prior statement. Either the boy's statement to the Juvenile Court under oath or his extrajudicial statement to the police officer while in

<sup>12</sup> In his treatise on evidence, Jones states, at Section 402, that the majority rule appears to be that the prosecution has the burden of showing initially that the confession is voluntary before it may be received. The minority rule, which seems to be the D.C. rule, is that a confession is presumed to be voluntary and is *prima facie* admissible in evidence, so as to require defendant to show existence of improper inducements. (*In re Davis*, 83 A.2d 590). The difference in the two rules is only a question of who has the burden of proving voluntariness. Under either rule the court must make a determination before accepting a confession or admission.

custody must be false. To eliminate the need to choose between the two conflicting statements, the Court decided not to accept either of the boys' statements as proof of the facts.

However, the Court acknowledged the relevancy of statements made by the boy to the police, not as evidence of the truth of one statement and the falsity of the other, but rather as proof of the general untrustworthiness of the boy's testimony.<sup>13</sup> Three of the boys chose not to testify at all. In the case of two, they were found involved on direct, non-hearsay evidence which corroborated the allegations of the petitions. A third was dismissed be-

cause the direct evidence, although it placed him on the scene of the incident, failed to connect him with the assault charged. The fourth boy chose to testify under oath and sought to establish an alibi. Since the validity of the alibi depended to some extent upon the credibility of the fourth respondent, on rebuttal the Court permitted the police officer to relate prior inconsistent statements made by that respondent to the police officer while in custody. The police officer's testimony, in these circumstances, was not admitted to establish the truth or falsehood of what the boy had told him at headquarters, but was accepted solely as proof that the boy's statement about the same event had differed on other occasions and in other circumstances. It was an attack on the fourth youth's credibility. In other words, the police officer's testimony in rebuttal was accepted by the Court as evidence of the unreliability or untrustworthy character of the boy's testimony—the very basis for the evidentiary rule previously applied by the Court.

<sup>13</sup> Jones states (*Evidence*, Sec. 271): "If a statement previously made out of court is offered in evidence through a witness or a writing, not for the purpose of establishing the truth of the matter stated, but merely for the purpose of establishing the fact that the statement was made, the evidence is admissible, if it is relevant, and it is not subject to the exclusionary impact of the hearsay rule." See also Wigmore, *op. cit.*, Sec. 1766, and *Richards v. Lorleberg* (App. D.C.), 79 F.2d 413.

## Letters to the Editor

### "A Crisis of Authority"

March 20, 1961

TO THE EDITOR:

I was glad to read Professor Gilbert Geis's temperate reply of March 11 [CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, April, 1961, pp. 183-184] in regard to the question whether it is in general desirable by law to tighten up the definitions and procedures in the juvenile court in the interest of fair or constitutional rules protecting the freedom of the individual.

It is true that over the years the social workers have strongly espoused the view that the juvenile court should not be constricted within the multiplicity of legal rules which govern the adult criminal court, and that others in the community who worship at the shrine of legal formalities and safeguards take a different view. In my younger days I was a member of the Civil Liberties Union and was acutely aware—and for that matter, I am now—that in every society, including ours, the freedom and dignity of the individual are in continuous jeopardy. The views I have come to hold on the questions Professor Geis and I are discussing are not necessarily the views I would have expressed as a member of the Bar a decade ago, however, but are views which have pressed in upon my consciousness since January 1, 1956, when I undertook the duties of judge, including those of the juvenile court.

It has come to be my view, as it is of Sutherland and other writers on criminology and as clearly enough shown by the statistics, that we are

living in what is essentially a lawless country, both as to adults and juveniles, and that our people, in their headlong pursuit of happiness, hedonism, and freedom from all restraints, have brought about a crisis of authority. The consequence is felt in every home; parents are unsure of whether they have any right to require any standard of conduct on the part of their children. The hand of the schoolteacher is tied in considerable degree; employers find it exceedingly difficult to carry on their businesses and to find employees who are willing to work seriously in exchange for their salaries and to carry out assiduously the requirements of their employers. Our military forces are in a state of relaxation and unreadiness because of the unwillingness of people to have their sons submitted to a rigid discipline; they may well prove to be a push-over for a determined foe.

For these and other reasons it seems to me foolhardy in the extreme to further straitjacket the feeble means of protection in the hands of society. I wonder if Professor Geis is closely in touch with high school principals who have the desperate task of maintaining order among various groups of our unregimented youths, with little home training, and who are often at their wits' end, if their conversations with me are any indication. Having acutely in mind the modest assistance that I have been able to lend to these school men in maintaining at least a modicum of status in preserving control of their school mechanisms, and the many parents who have looked to the juvenile court

in desperation as a last refuge in bringing recalcitrant youngsters under control of society and of family, I despair to think of the outcome in this and other places where we shackled by the legal forms of the adult criminal court.

Some years ago we had a case that arose in the junior high school, where a pupil had pulled a knife on a male teacher. Rather unwisely, I thought, the parents employed an attorney (unusual in the juvenile court)—although probably my bearishness had to do more particularly with the individual attorney chosen—and undertook to make a cause célèbre of the juvenile court hearing. The attorney brought in a number of pupils of both sexes who tried to make a hero of the student and a culprit of the teacher who had attempted to maintain order in a group of students waiting for the different township buses at the conclusion of the school day. The hearing threatened to become distorted entire-

ly beyond any useful purpose as an organ of society for the maintenance of order and protection of the body politic at large. Perhaps the offending pupil became a hero among a certain number of students. There is an odd psychology at work among these immature students. By nature they are rebellious and insubordinate. To complete the story, we sent the boy to a training school, carefully watched the situation there and at home, ultimately brought the boy back to the school system with the aid of a committee of students and teachers who undertook to smooth over the rough places, integrated the boy back into the school system, and ultimately saw him graduate from high school. In some less careful courts and school systems an incident like this could produce much worse consequences.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPUY  
President Judge, Thirty-ninth Judicial  
District, Franklin County, Chambersburg, Pa.

## Book Reviews

**Pioneers in Criminology**, Hermann Mannheim (editor). Pp. 402. London, Stevens, 1960. (Available in the U.S. from Quadrangle Books, Chicago; about \$10.50.)

A practical man, according to Disraeli, is one who practices the errors of his forefathers. If this is so, we can assume that the purpose of *Pioneers in Criminology* is to develop a sense of enlightened impracticality.

John Dewey once suggested the counseling guidance of history as a means of overcoming the repetitive errors of the practical man. Only by knowing what we have been, he said, can we know what we now are and what we may become. Criminologists, who appear to have taken this admonition to heart, make their customary obeisance to the classicists and the Lombrosians—without fully comprehending the impact these great fore-runners of contemporary criminology have had upon their thinking. Similarly, many probation officers believe they are continuing the gentle tradition of John Augustus' "friendly counseling" instead of what they are actually doing—supporting the vast bureaucratic superstructure of record-keeping and presentence investigations.

This, then, is a remarkably fascinating volume for the criminologist and penologist—not only because of its historical interest, but because it has much to say about contemporary problems and issues. It is edited by Hermann Mannheim, one of our most perceptive students of criminology, who not only is familiar with the wide-ranging literature of that field but also has the remarkable faculty of seeing implications in the critical

analysis of it. Seventeen pioneers in criminology are presented individually by an equal number of distinguished contributors, who view each man's relationship to his time and his contributions to criminological knowledge and insight.

In surveying the lives of these men, the reader should find it of more than passing interest that, of the seventeen theorists and humanitarians presented, only two—the incomparable Isaac Ray and Charles Doe—were Americans. By contrast to the overwhelming European background of these pioneers, and as an indication, perhaps, of criminology's shifting center of gravity, twelve of the contributors to this volume are Americans. The diversified backgrounds of our criminological pioneers are also striking. Eight of them—Beccaria, Bentham, Ferri, Garofalo, Montero, Tarde, Gross, and Doe—were lawyers; five—Ray, Maudsley, Lombroso, Goring, and Aschaffenburg—were physicians with psychiatric leanings; two—Durkheim and Bonger—were sociologists; one—Maconochie—was a naval officer and geographer; and one—Haviland—was an architect.

As Mannheim puts it in his trenchant introduction, "the aggregate life span of our pioneers covers more than two hundred years, ranging from the year 1738, when Beccaria was born, to 1944, when Aschaffenburg died." Actually, only one, Beccaria, is entirely an eighteenth century figure. The majority were caught up in the scientific tide of the nineteenth century, (and none of them lost his sense of humanity in the process). Almost a century spans the two monumental landmarks of criminological development: the publication of Beccaria's



*Dei Delitti e Delle Pene* in 1764 and Lombroso's *L'uomo Delinquente* in 1876. "Are we to expect similar bombshells," Mannheim asks, "in the next two decades and from which direction are they likely to come?"

While the contributions are somewhat uneven in emphasis and quality, the general level is commendably high. Overholser's concise digest of Isaac Ray's rich career and Sellin's scholarly paper on Enrico Ferri appear particularly outstanding, as are Wolfgang's paper on Lombroso and Geis's analysis of Jeremy Bentham. Mannheim's splendid introduction is worth the price of the book, while Jeffery's stimulating analysis of the development of criminology is provocative without being captious.

Prepared at the invitation of the *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, this volume should be a welcome addition to the library shelves of workers in the field of criminology, regardless of their special interests. It could become a source of renewed interest and purpose, sorely needed during this present period of grace.

HERBERT A. BLOCH

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**The Mind of the Murderer, Manfred Guttmacher, M.D.** Pp. 244. New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960, \$4.50.

Looking into the mind of a murderer can make for informative reading, as is evidenced by Dr. Guttmacher's latest book, which, in somewhat expanded form, is comprised of the Sixth Annual Isaac Ray Lectures delivered at the University of Minnesota in 1958. This lectureship, established

by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952, is conferred annually as an award upon the medical or non-medical person who has made a laudable contribution toward improving the relationship between law and psychiatry—which can stand quite a bit of improvement.

Dr. Guttmacher, known particularly for his *Psychiatry and the Law*, has served as medical advisor to Baltimore trial judges for more than twenty-five years. During this time, he has worked to give law students and lawyers some understanding of psychiatry and to give medical students and psychiatrists-in-training some understanding and tolerance for, as he puts it, "the restrictive procedures of the court and the Law's relentless quest for certainty."

"It is an enigma," Dr. Guttmacher says, "that in our highly civilized country murder should be an important cause of death. Unfortunately, my extensive clinical experience with men and women who murder has not led me to broad generalizations about this crime nor to panaceas for its prevention. . . . To me, criminals as a group, and particularly those who have committed the gravest of all crimes, the taking of human life, present a stimulating challenge. One keeps continually asking why—why—why—and sometimes one gets a satisfying answer."

With this as the central question, the book falls into three parts. The first is the presentation and analysis of a number of the more than two hundred murderers examined by Dr. Guttmacher, including the "normal" or nonpsychotic, the sadistic, the sociopathic, the schizophrenic, and the homosexual murderers, and also those who kill under the influence of alcohol.

The second part discusses testimony of experts in general and of psychiatrists in particular. The author outlines the restriction handicapping the medical man summoned to testify in our courts and tells why most of our qualified physicians try to avoid giving expert testimony. "The traditional method of employing partisan experts as witnesses," he says, "all too often leads to obfuscation rather than clarification in such cases. The outcome depends frequently far more on the skill of the counsel and the impressiveness of biased experts than on truth, which has been obscured by our present procedures."

The third part deals with the physician's right to maintain medical secrecy in courts, which increasingly have been trying to invade the privacy of the confidential doctor-patient relationship. Guttmacher concludes that "among all of the members of the medical profession it behooves the psychiatrists to prevent, most zealously, the divulging of information obtained from their patients." "This dilemma," he warns, "represents a real area of conflict between psychiatry and the law."

Anyone interested in understanding this area of conflict cannot fail to be stimulated by this brief but comprehensive work.

LUCY FREEMAN

Author of *Before I Kill More* and  
*Fight Against Fears*

**Education for Social Workers in the Correctional Field, Elliot Studt.**  
Pp. 50. New York, Council of Social Work Education, 1959, \$2.50.

No one interested in correctional casework practice, supervision, and administration or in some of the related problems for teaching and re-

search can afford to overlook this slim, tightly written volume. It contains much that is stimulating and challenging to the profession and to schools concerned with educating social workers in the correctional field.

For this is a pioneer effort to set down not only the tasks of the correctional social worker but also the adaptations necessary to accomplish them. In addition, the first section of *Education for Social Workers in the Correctional Field* describes correction as a social process, as a system of operating agencies, and as a field for social work practice.

The adaptations in practice will come as no surprise to those social workers familiar with the demands and needs of the correctional caseload. To others whose work has not been in correctional agencies, the skilled use of controls, for example, presents an approach about which they know little, for they may not have had experience with clients "who characteristically need some modification of the normal control structure if they are to behave in a socially tolerable fashion."

Equally astute observations are made on the correctional worker's tasks of investigation and surveillance, acting as a legal authority while being responsible for changing the client's sense of values, and decision-making. This last function must frequently be performed on the spot, often far from the office and without the protection and corroboration of consulting with a supervisor. However, a skilled worker who must make such "outside" decisions can often do much to strengthen his relationship with the client and thus significantly advance treatment.

The second part of the report deals with the conceptual framework of cor-

rectional social work and the ways of teaching these concepts. The author discusses "core concepts" as they relate to deviation (delinquent and criminal behavior as defined by law). Such behavior, she notes, precludes acceptance of the values of our society, which deal primarily with security of person and property and with sexual mores. The special knowledge, skills, and attitudes entailed in treating this kind of behavior are listed by Mrs. Studt in some detail.

The following statement about the social work curriculum concludes the work: "No separate speciality seems required in order to prepare social workers to take their place in correctional service. The basic social work approach to service is uniquely appropriate for dealing with the human problems which are presented in the correctional assignment. Enrichment of the curriculum, however, is needed if social workers are to be ready to enter correctional employment as any other field of service."

This little book is Volume V of *A Project Report of the Curriculum Study*, which was directed and coordinated by Werner W. Boehm. Mrs. Studt's introduction gives generous recognition to the Committee on Corrections of the Council on Social Work Education. Among those whose help is acknowledged are William G. Nagel, of the New Jersey Reformatory,<sup>1</sup> and John A. Wallace, of the Probation Department of Baltimore's Supreme Bench,<sup>2</sup> as well as Tessie Berkman, Eleanor G. Crane, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Irving Weisman, faculty members who met with Mrs. Studt. In addition, there were two corresponding members: John Conrad, of the California

Department of Corrections, and Maurice F. Connery, a faculty member. They met over a three-year period "to examine afresh the problems of social work practice in corrections, to identify the areas where further study and formulation are needed, and to propose the conceptual framework which offers most for the understanding of correctional social work practice."

It was from the discussions of this Committee and its subgroups that the author distilled and synthesized for publication the concepts and formulations arrived at. Indeed, the author has exercised considerable skill in drawing together all the fragments of those discussions into a meaningful whole.

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**Camps for Delinquent Boys**, George H. Weber (editor). Pp. 61. Washington, D.C., U.S. Children's Bureau, 1960, 15 cents.

The word "camp" carries a deceptive implication of rustic simplicity as well as all the character-building traits associated with life in the great outdoors. Were we to think of city-bred delinquents as being susceptible to marvelous transformations brought about by supervised life in a woodland setting, camps would be dubious additions to our already crowded cornucopia of panaceas for delinquency prevention and treatment.

For those who view camps for delinquents in this sentimental light, a 61-page booklet entitled *Camps for Delinquent Boys* may be of corrective as well as instructive value. This publication is intended as a "guide for officials . . . surveying the possibility

<sup>1</sup> Now Citizen Action Program consultant (NCCD) in West Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> Now chief of the new combined probation department in New York City.

of establishing such camps or seeking to improve their operation." And a most useful guide it is during these days when the camp concept has had implications extending far beyond the fields of delinquency and adult correction. For this reason, it deserves the widest distribution. It is a review of the best current standards for the development and operation of camps for delinquent boys.

Described in the booklet are camps which provide work programs for older adolescents as well as camps with an educational orientation for younger boys who will return to school—the type of program depending largely on the needs of the young people. In any camp setting, "emphasis is placed on being able to accept and use supervision and to relate satisfactorily to one's peers," but, of course, a camp is limited in what it can provide. For instance, training in conservation work is not a promising vocation. A period of time in camp may be detrimental to boys separated from urban associations and frequently does not provide appropriate preparation for private employment. Other limitations are the extent and depth of the counseling that can be provided and the misbehavior that can be tolerated. Moreover, poor administrative direction, coordination, and control can blight the development of a good camp.

Under the headings "A Conception of a Camp," "What Groups to Serve?" and "The Selection Process" are set forth the considerations which should precede the practical steps bringing a camp into existence. Long before the architect is engaged and the dimensions are traced on paper, the work, educational, recreational, and counseling programs should be designed in terms of their carry-over

value for the youngster when he is ready to return to the community. The emphasis, then, is that the needs of children and youth take priority over architectural plans, camp sites, and the financial returns to the state from conservation work.

By and large, these programs are designed for delinquents who display ability to get along in a well-structured group. According to the guide, provisions for screening and diagnosis should preclude the admission of boys who are strongly hostile, withdrawn, or obviously physically and emotionally handicapped.

In light of the previously mentioned needs, "The Camp Program" is discussed and considerable space devoted to counseling techniques and the variety of environmental situations that can be handled with sensitive help. This section is an excellent resource for professional in-service training programs. However, there are many unresolved questions as to the role of counseling in a camp setting. Then, too, questions arise as to who is qualified to do it. Many camps retain persons known as "generalists" who, in addition to carrying responsibilities in many of the program areas, also provide counseling services. Other camps follow the pattern of training schools, where group living counselors confine their services largely to recreation and camp supervision. Case-workers then give more intensive counseling, with the purpose of reaching "a more thorough understanding of the boy's personality make-up and living situation, and, on the basis of this knowledge, help him resolve some of his problems and gain some insight into himself."

Decisions as to the kind, level, and role of counseling should be embodied in the design of the camp as a treat-

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ment resource. However, where "generalists" carry the full responsibility for counseling delinquents who are not seriously maladjusted, staff members should possess a background of education in the social sciences and the program director should be well versed in treatment procedures. As a rule, "generalists" should not be responsible for individual counseling of more than ten boys.

The chapters on organization and administration include some helpful advice on how to estimate the need for a camp, beginning with "a review of the total delinquency problem, its incidence, the services available to cope with it, and the probable future developments." Rule-of-thumb guessing, or the assumption of a static commitment rate, should give way to annual estimates over a five- or ten-year period. Such estimates allow for the "availability and use of probation and parole programs, and prevention programs in the community."

It is hoped that this splendid guide is merely the first of a number of badly needed publications dealing with work camps. Publications describing more fully the process of group and individual counseling in the camp and the relation of camps to other community services would be a most welcome addition.

RAYMOND F. SCANNELL

Youth Consultant, NCCD

**Origins of Alcoholism, William and Joan McCord.** Pp. 193. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1960, \$4.75.

According to the majority of contemporary theories, the causes of an adult's behavioral deviations can be found in his childhood. As a general rule, however, these theories can be

evaluated empirically only in isolated instances, since objective data for this childhood, or pre-deviation, period are rarely available.

By making use of data from the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Project of the 1930's in their book, *Origins of Alcoholism*, William and Joan McCord grasped a unique opportunity for evaluating hypotheses pertaining to the etiology of early adult alcoholism. The Project had been an experiment in the prevention of delinquency. As such, it was a failure. However, it left a legacy of extensive and intensive records on 255 urban boys of lower socio-economic status, which covered, on the average, more than five years of their early adolescence. The Project also left some less intensive records on 255 matched controls. What the McCords did was to go about tracing these subjects and controls. They found that, in 1957, 10 per cent of both the experimental and control groups had become alcoholics.

The beginning of their book then, is an evaluation of the Youth Project data as they pertain to alcoholism. These data, it seems, failed to confirm psychiatric and physiological theories which associate alcoholism with nutritional deficiencies, glandular disorders, heredity, orality, latent homosexuality, and feelings of inferiority, self-destruction and maternal dependency. They did, on the other hand, confirm previous research on the relationship of alcoholism to class status, ethnic group, and parental conflicts over alcohol.

Nevertheless, despite the McCords' assertion that the theories lack supportive evidence, this reviewer questions whether they were subjected to relevant testing. Very few of the physiological theories contain assumptions



about the duration of the particular disorder hypothesized as being associated with alcoholism. Moreover, while psychiatric theories contain specific hypotheses about the childhood period, the measures used by the McCords to test these theories suffer from oversimplification. (For example, the concept of orality involves considerably more than thumb sucking, excessive smoking and eating, and playing with the mouth.) This lack of "relevant testing," though, might have been due to the limitations in the data.

Although the McCords label the latent homosexuality hypothesis as "unconfirmed" when measured by abnormal, overt homosexual behavior, at a later point in the book they state that a major characteristic of the pre-alcoholic is his hyper-masculine façade. Clinicians would consider this characteristic to be evidence of latent homosexuality.

After dealing with contemporary theories, the authors pass on to such factors as intense parental conflict, sexually deviant family behavior, and neurological disorders, which they believe may predispose a person toward deviant behavior, but not necessarily toward alcoholism *per se*. (One factor found in many records, the strongly Catholic mother, served, the McCords point out, as a *deterrent* to deviation.) In addition, six factors, indicating a dependency conflict, were also related to alcoholism: maternal alternation between affection and rejection, maternal escapist behavior, deviant maternal behavior, denigration of the mother by the father, antagonism between the parents, and the mother's resentment of her role. The greater the number of these factors, the higher was the probability of alcoholism.

From here, the authors then went on

to score the histories of the boys for seventeen so-called "negative factors" related to their later alcoholism. It was found that the percentage of boys who became alcoholics rose in proportion to an increase in the negative factor scores.

In addition to the studies already mentioned, the McCords also differentiated between alcoholics, alcoholic criminals, and nonalcoholic criminals, examined personality characteristics associated with this disease, and identified an alcoholic-prone personality. Their book concludes with a theory about the nature of alcoholism derived, the McCords claim, from the Youth Project data. In brief, it holds that, during childhood, alcoholics were subjected to certain stresses which led to insecurities and anxieties. However, "the major force which led a person . . . to express his anxiety in alcoholism was the erratic frustration of his dependency desires." With a conflict over such desires for dependency and a confused self-image, a child can develop a façade of being adequate and independent that cannot be maintained as he reaches adulthood. Since he has no possible outlet for expressing his dependency (because prior experiences and social status have made them psychologically unavailable), he turns to alcohol. With it, he becomes, to all appearances, independent, masculine, and adequate, at the same time satisfying his need for dependency.

*Origins of Alcoholism* suffers from repetitiousness. But, all in all, its assets predominate. Any criticisms the reader might have about the method, classification, and data analysis are anticipated by the McCords and discussed at length in the text. The authors have been conscientious throughout in stating their assumptions, the

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limitations involved in making generalizations about findings, and in presenting the bases of their classifications. In short, this is a very careful study.

The reviewer only wishes—even while recognizing the realistic limitations on their work—that they had done more. Had they been able, for instance, to re-interview the whole sample, they could have provided data rather than speculations about the intervening years; they could have found some of those solitary drinkers who are not known by themselves or their community to be alcoholics; they could have tested some of the precipitating conditions hypothetically related to “situational alcoholism,” and they could have tested the relevance of the differential association theory to this form of deviant behavior.

While it would not be within the realm of possibility to make extensive additions to the data, perhaps by 1967 another follow-up could be undertaken. The present study, meanwhile, is one of the most valuable contributions to the understanding of alcoholism that we have to date.

JOAN K. JACKSON

Research Associate Professor of Psychiatry (Sociology), University of Washington School of Medicine

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**Reaching Delinquents through Reading, Melvin Roman.** Pp. 125. Springfield, Ill., Charles C Thomas, 1957, \$4.50.

*Reaching Delinquents through Reading* is a report on a very interesting study conducted at the Treatment Clinic of the New York City Children's Court. The need for the study arose from the recognition that reading retardation, truancy, and delinquency were a frequently occurring

triad. In 84 per cent of those cases carried by the Clinic, Melvin Roman reports, children were retarded in reading in addition to evincing personality disorders and antisocial behavior.

Much has been written about possible corrective measures for this situation: shall it be remedial reading or psychotherapy? The author answers this question by presenting a method which he calls tutorial therapy, “that form of psychotherapy which is conducted in a group setting and whose aims and procedures are directed toward the simultaneous correction of reading disabilities and the improvement of mental health. The treatment process consists of the integration of remedial reading and group therapy techniques.”

In order to test out this new approach, twenty-one male subjects were studied, their ages ranging from thirteen to sixteen and their I.Q.'s from 65 to 95. Each boy's achievement in reading was at least two years below the norm for his mental and chronological age. All had been adjudged delinquent and were on active status with the Treatment Clinic.

The subjects were divided into three equal groups selected on the basis of matched samples: Group I received group remedial reading; Group II received tutorial group therapy; and Group III, interview group therapy. During a period of seven months, the boys met once a week with their respective groups in 1½-hour sessions, which were conducted by Roman and an observing psychologist.

For purposes of brevity, I will not list the many tests and ratings that were made both before and after the treatment period; the book lists all such data in great detail. I should,

however, like to quote two of the most significant results. In reading achievement, Group I showed an improvement of 39 per cent, Group II 74 per cent, and Group III 26 per cent. In their psychosocial adjustment as measured by the Davidson-Rorschach tests, Group I improved by 5 per cent, Group II by 50 per cent, and Group III by 37 per cent. Other tests and ratings indicated similar gains.

One cannot help being impressed by the overall success reported for those receiving tutorial group therapy in Group II. Yet, since the book faithfully follows the classic steps of scientific research, this reviewer feels that the very small number in each group—seven—somehow detracted from the importance of the results. Then, too, one of the book's weaknesses is its paucity of details of the various treatment processes. The reader would be interested in—and profit by—more reports on the actual sessions.

Roman emphasizes that this study was made to evaluate a form of treatment tailor-made for a specific type of delinquent, but a great deal of his book would be of interest to those who deal with nondelinquents as well.

If we believe that one cannot consider an individual's disabilities (in this case, reading) apart from his total function as an organism, then we must also believe the following statement by the author:

Effective remedial treatment appears to necessitate a modified psychotherapeutic approach incorporating treatment techniques designed to deal with the child's unproductive attitudes and emotional conflicts and remedial techniques designed to yield those positive educational experiences which lead to a more satisfactory orientation toward reading.

HELEN J. GREENBLAT

Principal, Burnet Street School, Newark, N. J.

**Service Directory of National Organizations, National Social Welfare Assembly.** Pp. 113. New York, 1961, \$2.

The *Service Directory of National Organizations* is issued biannually "as a service to the social welfare field." The service referred to is that of listing alphabetically the names of organizations, their regional assignments, addresses of their base offices, names of their consultants, their purpose, the kinds of services they render, and the ways in which the public may obtain these services.

**Children Who Receive Services from Public Child Welfare Agencies, Helen R. Jeter.** Pp. 60. Washington, D.C., Children's Bureau, 1960, 25 cents.

This pamphlet's opening paragraph tells us that it is a study of 220,812 children in forty-five states who "were receiving child welfare services on March 31, 1959." The results of this study are recorded statistically in tables dealing with age, sex, color, whereabouts of the children, marital status of parents, length of time children had received welfare services, and a comparison of these distributions with similar ones of 1945.

In addition to these general tables, there is an appendix with more detailed charts, taking each state separately.

The booklet concludes with some questions and suggestions for further study and recommends that comparable sample studies be made in California, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, which did not participate in the 1960 study.

**Children of Working Mothers, Elizabeth Herzog.** Pp. 38. Washington,

D.C., cents.

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D.C., Children's Bureau, 1960, 20 cents.

Of the 22 million women in the labor force during 1958, 7½ million had children under eighteen. Some of them work for the bare necessities, some for independence; some work for prestige or to keep up with the Joneses; others work so that they can put their children through school. Whatever the reason, a mother's absence from her children creates the problems of who will care for them and where. This pamphlet offers suggestions for solving these problems, using a statistical as well as theoretical standpoint, and concludes with a general comment on how the employer and the community can help the working mother meet her children's and family's needs.

**The Juvenile Delinquency Problem in Korea, Bernard Kogon.** Pp. 52. U.S. Operations Mission to Korea, 1960.

*The Juvenile Delinquency Problem in Korea*, a report by Bernard Kogon (Director of Training, Los Angeles County probation department), leaves the reader with a feeling of utmost sympathy for the deprived children who have become delinquents. Kogon himself writes that, with the extremely chaotic conditions that prevailed after the Korean War, "it is perhaps surprising that juvenile delinquency is not more extensive than it is." During that time, about two million children were left homeless and lacked the basic necessities of life. "There were 100,000 war orphans," Kogon writes, "and 300,000 war widows with some half-million dependent children."

Hence, delinquency in Korea—  
theft, prostitution, begging, and rag-

picking—"is rooted in socio-economic and cultural factors, as distinguished from delinquency which is psychogenic in origin."

Although the author admits that data gathered for his report are unreliable because of the prevailing economic and political conditions, it is fairly evident that Korea desperately needs revised laws, improved institutional services, a "modern approach to police work," and better processes of probation, parole, and prevention. With respect to these needs, Kogon describes the existing policies and their defects and lists ten recommendations for fulfilling the needs and eliminating the defects, with the qualification that "Korea alone can and should evaluate the findings, determine applicability and relationship to values it wants for itself, and make the appropriate decisions."

**Delinquent Generations, A Home Office Research Unit Report, Leslie T. Wilkins.** Pp. 19. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960. (Available through the British Information Service, New York.) 35 cents.

The object of *Delinquent Generations* is, as Leslie Wilkins puts it, "to examine and test the theory that children born in certain years (for example, during wartime) are more likely to commit offences than others, and that this tendency remains from childhood to early adult life."

From statistical tabulations of juvenile offenses and expected crime rates in England and Wales from 1946 to 1956, Wilkins amply supports the theory quoted above, but does indicate that more "critical tests" are needed.

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